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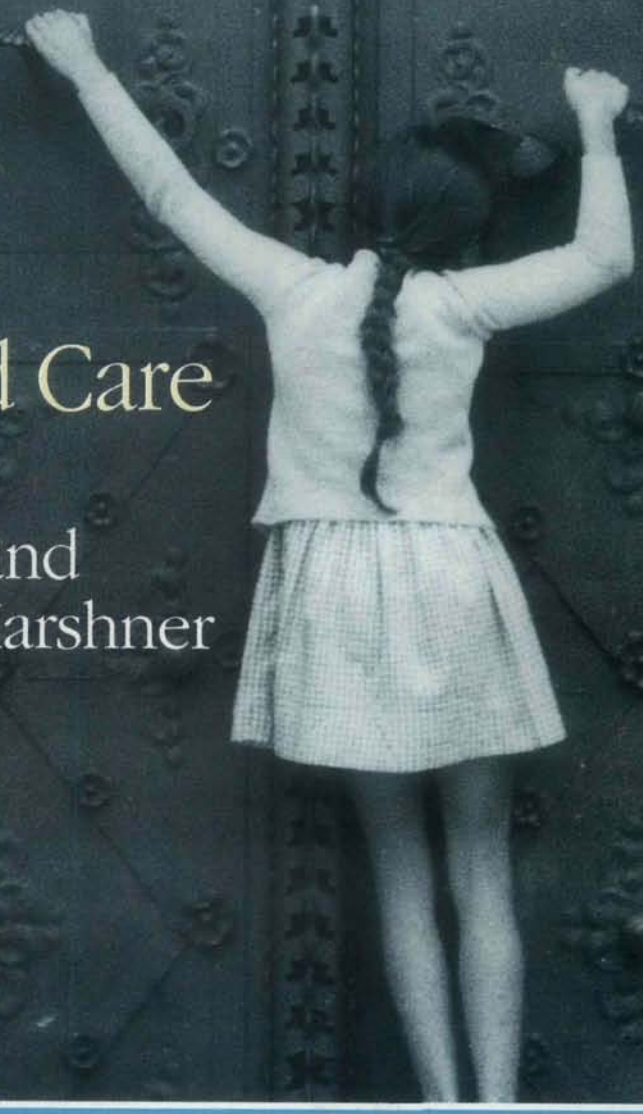
John McLaughlin asks:
WILL MONEY MEAN VOTES?

NATIONAL REVIEW

Creeping Child care ... creepy



The Act for Better Child Care

Analyzed By George Gilder and Connaught C. Marshner

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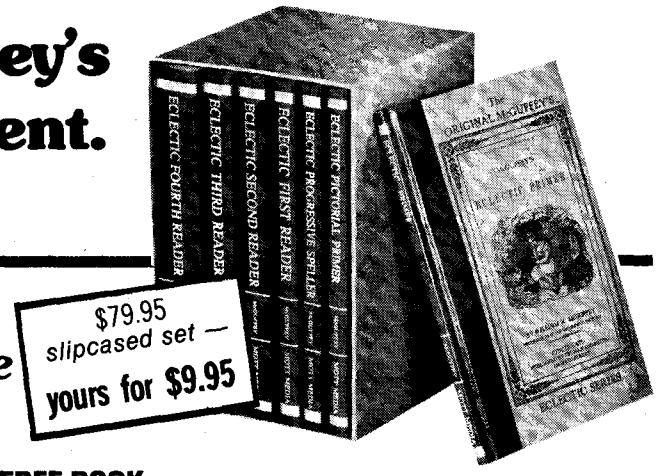

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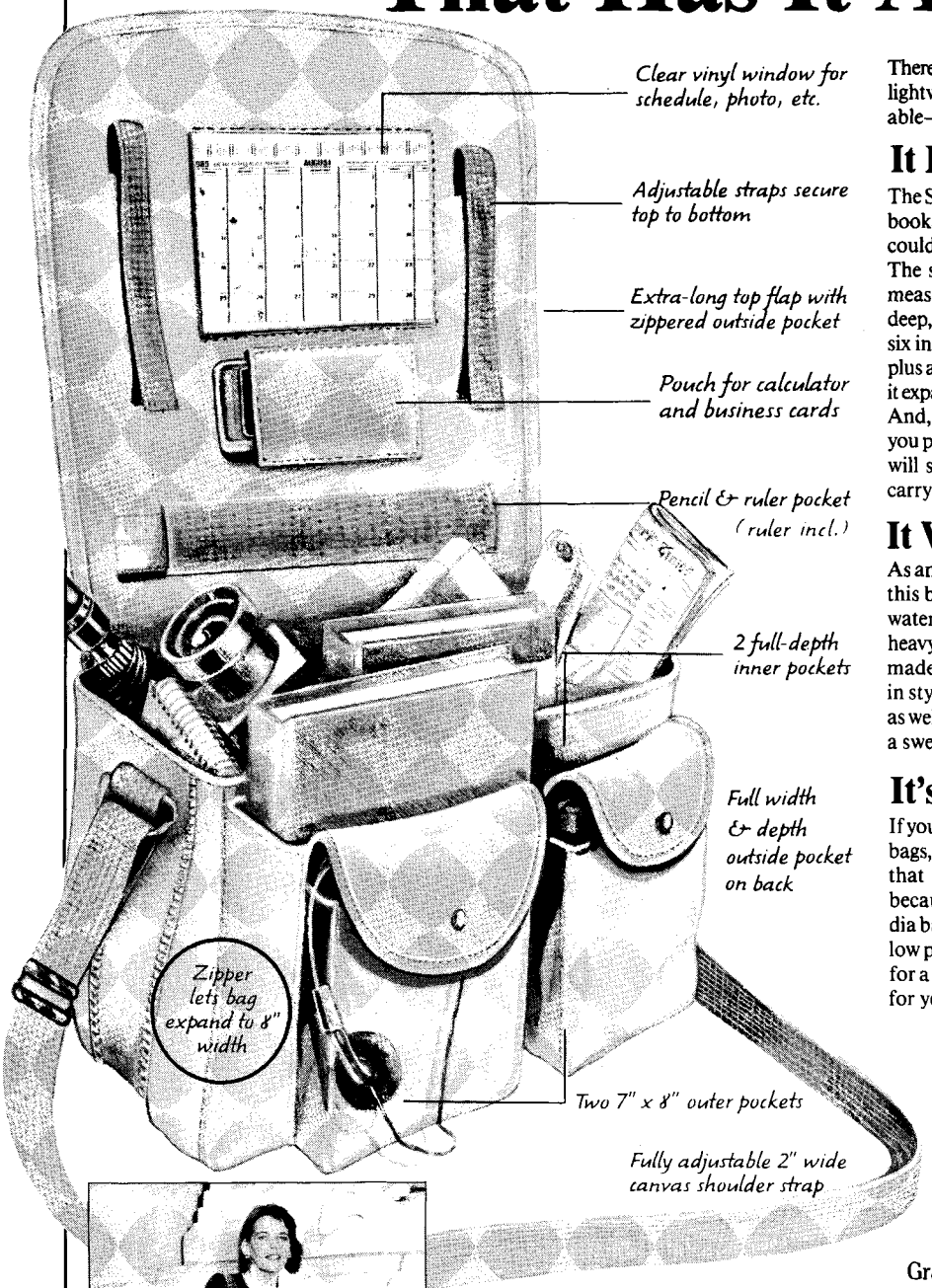
SCANDIA: The Shoulder Bag That Has It All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Zipper lets bag expand to 8" width
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Fully adjustable 2" wide canvas shoulder strap

There's simply no other shoulder bag that's as roomy, lightweight, versatile, stylish, durable—and affordable—as the Scandia.

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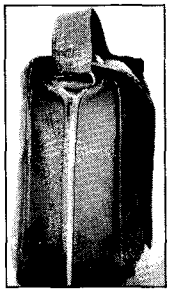
The Scandia is intelligently designed to hold all the books, paper, equipment, clothes, and sundries you could ever need to carry.



The sturdy canvas Scandia measures 15½" across, 11" deep, and 4" wide, and has six inner and outer pockets, plus an inside zipper that lets it expand to a full 8" in width. And, no matter how much you pack into the Scandia, it will still be trim enough to carry comfortably.

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NOW ONLY $19.95

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LETTERS

Defending the Enemy

Thanks to R. Cort Kirkwood for exploring Ronald Reagan's greatest policy blunder: "Why spend $300 billion on defense if we're going to underwrite the Soviet military too?" ["Inside the Red-Trade Lobby," Apr. 29]. The Administration has put itself in the strange position of defending our enemy.

I at least understand why, for political reasons, Reagan allowed Bush to put Verity in at Commerce, but why the weakness on the President's part toward Toshiba? Mr. Reagan applauded the Tokyo court that fined Toshiba $16,000 for selling the Soviets $40 million in propeller-milling equipment; it will cost the U.S. $40 billion to regain the lost advantage in submarine warfare. Now, $16,000 in Tokyo is about what it would cost for a couple of executives to take a visiting congressman to dinner.

While Mr. Reagan's left hand is implementing policy to help the Soviet economy, his right hand is fighting the forces the Soviets support.

John Pietrusza
Chicago, Ill.

Stronger Prescription

NATIONAL REVIEW can usually be counted on to counsel sticking to principle and taking temporary losses where necessary. It was distressing, therefore, to read Cato's April 1 "Letter from Washington" criticizing House Republicans for not supporting the Jim Wright version of aid to the Contras.

Defeating that aid package was not, as Cato asserted, a "pyrrhic victory." It was critical in establishing that Jim Wright does not run the Central American policy of this country.

But, more important, it maintained a key principle. The reason all but five Republicans (and many conservative Democrats) refused to support the Wright plan is the same reason a responsible physician does not give a placebo to a sick patient. The patient needs treatment.

The Wright plan was a fake—worse than a placebo. By rejecting this sellout plan, we left the issue still unresolved, hoping that Ortega would show his true colors in a way dramatic enough to pick up the additional support we needed for a meaningful aid package. Fortunately, we didn't have to wait long. It is now increasingly clear to swing-voters in Congress that rejecting President Reagan's proposal on February 3 did not give peace a chance; it gave Ortega a chance to wipe out the Contras.

I was especially distressed that Cato criticized my Arizona colleague, Senator John McCain, who had the good sense (from some tough personal experience in Vietnam, I might add) to observe that the worst policy is one that gives our friends just enough support to get themselves killed. I thought Vietnam taught us that half-way measures don't beat dedicated and heavily armed Communists.

That's why we held out for delivery of military aid. We didn't want the American people to think that the battle was over. It's just beginning.

Jon Kyl
Member of Congress
Washington, D.C.

Interpreting the Founders

In his review of *The Founders' Constitution* [Mar. 18], M. E. Bradford acknowledges the great importance of the work but attributes to the editors, Philip Kurland and Ralph Lerner, the opinion that the Constitution "as written, ratified, and amended" can have no binding authority for us.

In support of this judgment, he quotes the following passage from the Introduction to Volume I of this five-volume work: "If the Constitution is to be a viable instrument of governance [in our time], then it must (as it has to a great degree) cut itself free from its eighteenth-century moorings. The thought of the Founders, even to the extent that it is discoverable, may be curious, even at times amusing or maddening, but it cannot be binding." Bradford attributes this opinion to Kurland and Lerner and says it supplies the "predicate [of] their enterprise."

The very opposite is true. The quoted passage appears in a paragraph in which the editors explain why their efforts to collect documents explaining the original understanding of the Constitution might, today, appear to be frivolous or irrelevant. As they write in the paragraph following the one in which the quoted statement appears, "These are some of the reasons . . . that might incline the holder of this volume to wish to conserve time and energy and read no further. Yet we think that to act on that

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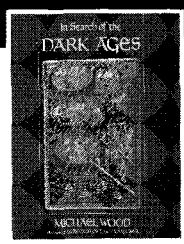

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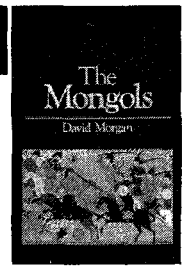

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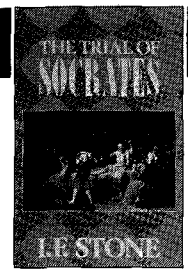

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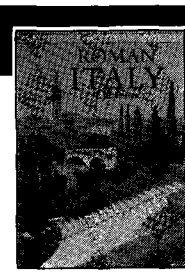

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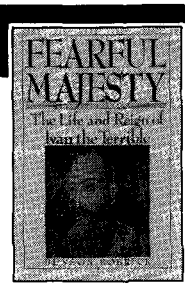

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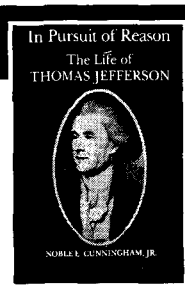

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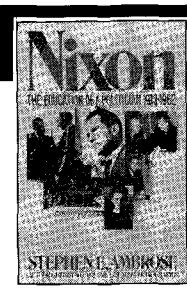

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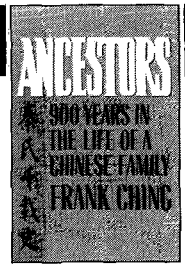

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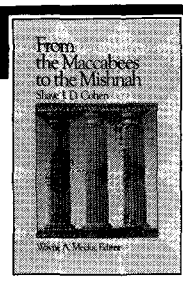

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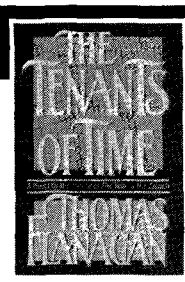

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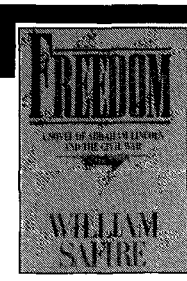

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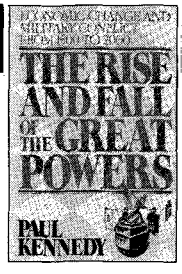

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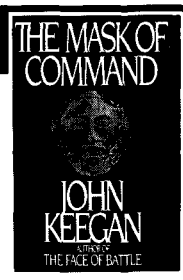

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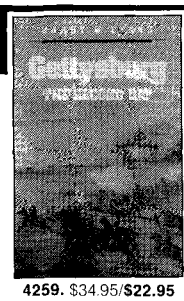

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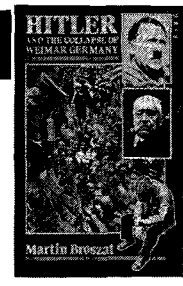

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inclination would be a mistake, if our own experience is any guide." Etc.

Professor Bradford owes an apology—in these pages—to Kurland and Lerner.

Walter Berns
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Bradford Replies

Professor Berns and I are reversing our usual roles. He usually appeals to the authority of Union based on fundamental law. I sometimes argue for something less rigorous and nationalistic.

I do not apologize. The concessions Kurland and Lerner incorporate into their perspective on the original United States Constitution deprive it of the authority that belongs to it by right. Their concessions are so pervasive and disabling in their effect on the enterprise they have in hand that it deserved, despite the intellectual distinction of the editors, a commentary as mordant and disapproving as I could fashion. If I had written further, I might have been even more severe.

Kurland and Lerner leave as a matter of taste or preference how we should receive the Framers' Constitution and whether or not we should acknowledge its continuing authority. They speak of that Constitution as a matter of "rare interest" and admit that how it is received is "in one sense" of no importance. The passages I quote are presented by the editors of *The Founders' Constitution* as reasonable objections to their project. I cannot give away so much ground and still feel myself to be governed by laws instead of men.

M. E. Bradford
Irving, Tex.

Friendly Fire

My friend Harry V. Jaffa has fallen into the trap of thinking that, because a state law forbidding the use of contraceptives was wrong, therefore it had to be unconstitutional, even if there was nothing in the text of the Constitution to prohibit a state from passing such a law ["Judge Bork's Mistake," Mar. 4]. I have never yet been able to get him to see that this way of thinking confers arbitrary power on the U.S. Supreme Court.

John Marshall argued in *Marbury* v. *Madison* that either the Constitution "is . . . a superior, paramount law" which renders legislative acts contrary to it null and void, or "written constitutions are absurd attempts on the part of the people to limit a power in its own nature illimitable." Marshall could have said the same thing about the power of judges. Either they are bound by the written text of the Constitution, or their power is unlimited by anything but their own judgment. That their judgment may sometimes be the same as mine or Harry Jaffa's is irrelevant. The point is that their power is arbitrary.

Francis Canavan, SJ
Bronx, N.Y.

Mr. Jaffa Replies

Let me say, first of all, that there is no living person whose judgment on constitutional—and many other—matters I trust more than Father Canavan's. And there is no disagreement between us that judges, no less than executives or legislators, state or national, are bound by the Constitution. Moreover, I do not hold that, "because a state law forbidding the use of contraceptives was wrong, therefore it had to be unconstitutional." The Fourteenth Amendment does declare that "No State shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." It seems to me to be

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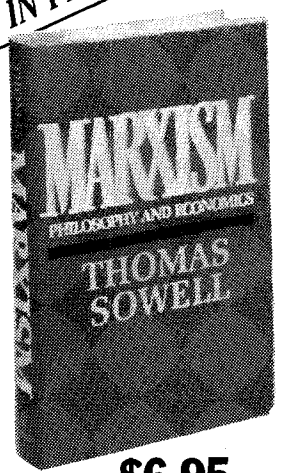

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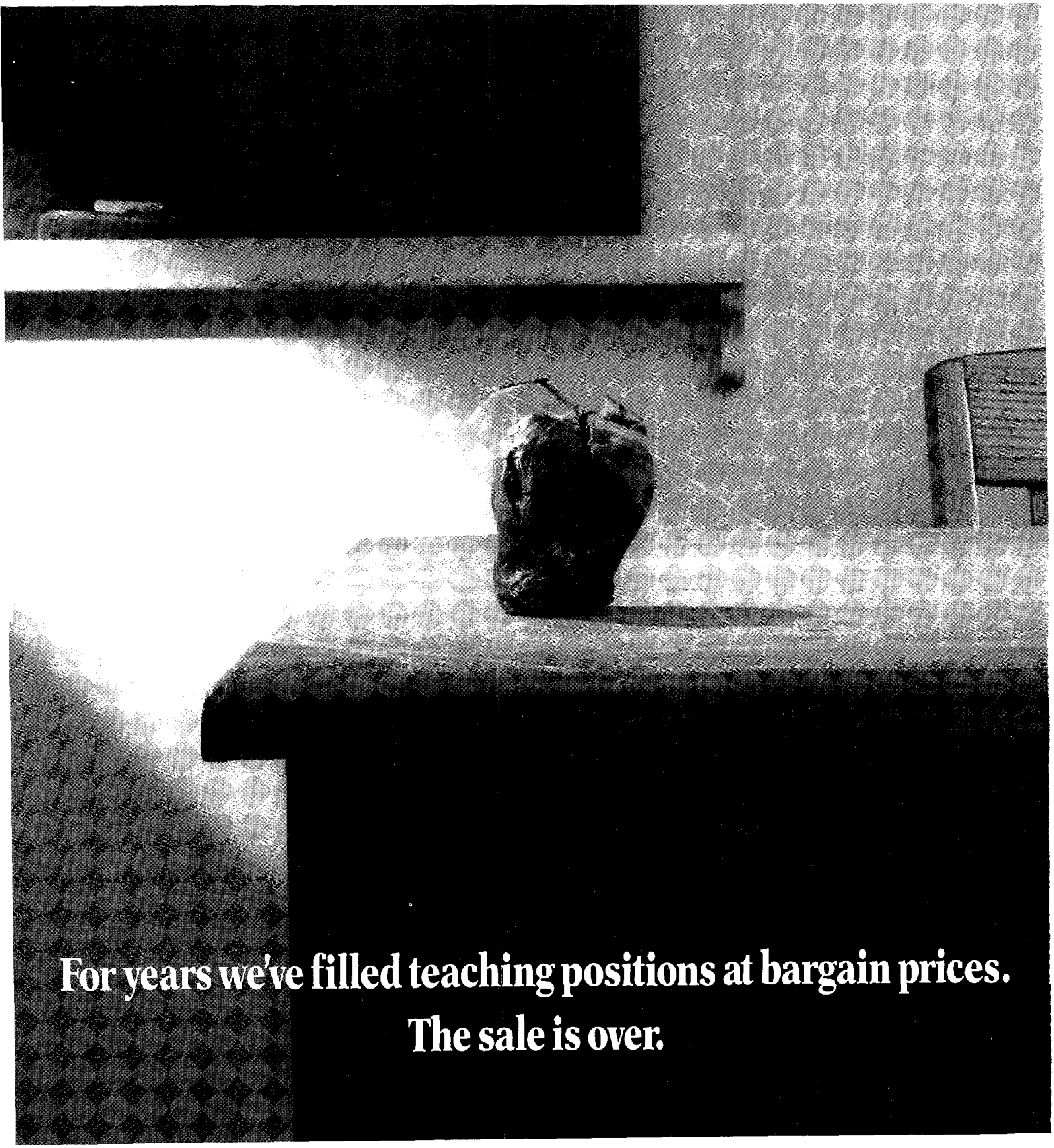

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an unavoidable duty of the Court, should occasion arise, to inquire into the question of whether a state has, in fact, deprived any person of liberty. This is a duty enjoined upon the Court by a provision that, however distressingly vague it may appear, is nonetheless part of the Constitution.

Father Canavan, I believe, looks upon *Griswold* as a stepping stone to *Roe* v. *Wade*—which he and I both regard as a legal monstrosity. I, however, look upon it in the light of what recourse might be possible when state legislatures enact legislation authorizing euthanasia, or requiring mandatory sterilization of couples having more than one or two children—as in China. Surely the fact that nothing in the text of the Constitution prohibits the states from enacting specific laws of such a description does not mean that they are not forbidden by the general provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. For nearly three-quarters of a century Congress and the Court both failed to do their duty, when they did nothing to prevent states from making and enforcing laws every bit as abhorrent.

The people, wrote Thomas Jefferson, are the ultimate repository of constitutional principles. They are independent of every authority, he said, "except moral law." I think it was an essential element of the "original intention" of the Framers and ratifiers of the Constitution —for which there is abundant documentary evidence—that the Constitution be interpreted within the framework of the moral law which is also the natural law.

Harry V. Jaffa
Claremont, Calif.

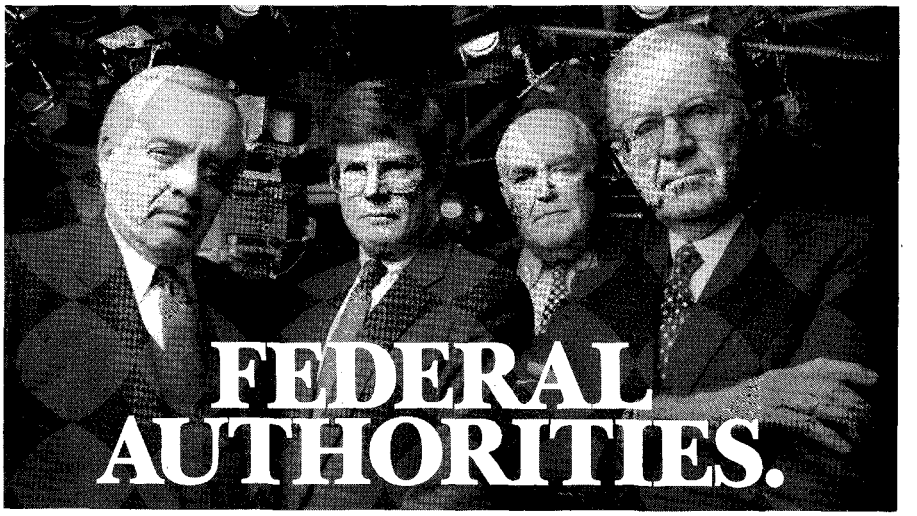
Advice and Dissent

David J. Trachtenberg is right on in pointing out the potential dangers of lax enforcement of the INF treaty ["INF: Invitation to Cheat?" Mar. 4]. If we want to create a lasting peace, substantial reductions in nuclear forces are not enough. We need to make sure the treaties are backed up by strong enforcement mechanisms.

Twentieth-century history provides ample proof that a Soviet signature is not the most reliable guarantee of an international agreement. In line with its duties of advice and consent, the Senate will not only have to certify the *prima facie* merits of a superpower treaty, but also decide whether or not it is realistically enforceable.

A treaty that can't be enforced is worse than no treaty at all.

Robert W. Kasten Jr.
United States Senator
Washington, D.C.



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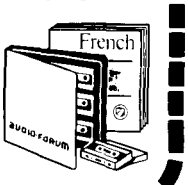

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FOR THE RECORD

New York figures and fallout: **Michael Dukakis** won solidly, with 51 per cent, to 37 per cent for **Jesse Jackson** and 10 for **Albert Gore**. But *New York Times*/CBS poll showed only 45 per cent of those who voted for the Duke supported him "strongly"; 50 per cent backed him with reservations, or in order to stop another candidate (i.e., Jackson). Jackson took 17 per cent of white vote, 32 per cent of white liberals. . . . Was it a rough campaign? Not really, opined Governor **Mario Cuomo**: "I saw no fruit thrown. I saw no disorderly conduct." Yes really, howled columnist **Jimmy Breslin**: "We had a mayor named **Koch** who tried to turn our sidewalks into a field in the night while he burned a cross, large and grotesque, with flames licking the night air." **Vera Brown**, a Harlem barmaid, hoped Jackson would be back for mayor's race. "He's gonna campaign next year against that big-mouthed mayor, isn't he?" . . . Most damaged pol, apart from Gore and Koch, was Cuomo. His I'm-not-running-but routine and incessant telephone kibitzing finally palled. **Martin Nolan**, of the *Boston Globe*, dubbed him the "**Martha Mitchell** of the Eighties."

The hard Left is climbing all over Jackson bandwagon. Although the Communist Party will not endorse a candidate of any other party, says CP leader **Gus Hall**, "at this stage of the game most members of the party would be working for Jesse Jackson." **Angela Davis** joined the Jackson camp several weeks back. . . . **James Steele**, political-action director of the CPUSA, finds Jackson a "viable candidate" who could win the election. Steele says that Jackson's foreign policy hasn't changed since 1984 but he "has learned to articulate it better." . . . Also in Jackson's corner are the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). **Ann Lewis**, writing in *Democratic Left*, the DSA's publication, says, "Jackson has reached across the color lines to make the connection between progressive politics and real economic opportunity." . . . Mrs. Lewis (formerly of the Democratic National Committee and of ADA) is a Jackson advisor, as is far-left Rep. **Ron Dellums**. . . . Jackson's "issues advisor" is **Robert Borosage**, director of (notorious) Institute for Policy Studies for the past ten years. The IPS is variously depicted. *Human Events* finds it a Communist front; **Ben Wattenberg** describes it as "a hard-left institution," and the Newspaper of Record as "a Washington research group of liberal orientation." . . . Running the store back at the Rainbow Coalition is long-time Jackson associate **Jack [Hunter Pitts] O'Dell**, identified as a Communist Party member by the FBI in 1959; as recently as 1983 he was a member of the World Peace Council, the premier international Communist front, and he is now a senior editor of *Freedomways*, the Communist magazine aimed at black intellectuals. . . . **Amy** is not the only Georgia **Carter** to endorse Jackson. Last week former First Brother **Billy Carter** joined the gang.

Langdon, *Punch*/Rothco

"I made sure there wasn't a coup while I was away by abolishing the rank of colonel."

Other races: According to *U.S. News* the three most vulnerable Democratic Senate seats this fall are in Ohio (**Howard Metzenbaum**); New Jersey (**Frank Lautenberg**); and Mississippi (where **John Stennis** is stepping down). Republicans stand good chance in Mississippi, where Republican House Whip **Trent Lott** is pitted against liberal Democratic Rep. **Wayne Dowdy**, and in New Jersey, where the GOP candidate is retired Gen. **Pete Dawkins**. . . . It will be uphill fight in Texas for Rep. **Beau Boulter**, who won his primary last week and will oppose Democratic Sen. **Lloyd Bentsen**. . . . Some Missouri Democrats are sore that **Richard Gephardt** has opted to run for re-election to the House instead of taking on GOP Sen. **John Danforth**, whom they regard as vulnerable. . . . In Virginia, conservative **Andrew Wahlquist** has entered primary in hopes of succeeding retiring GOP Sen. **Paul Trible**. Wahlquist, a former aide to Sen. **John Warner**, supports school prayer and the line-item veto; opposes abortion. . . . In Connecticut, **Lowell Weicker** is up at bat again. In the last session of the Senate, Weicker managed to get an ADA rating twenty points higher than **Christopher Dodd**. Which may be why exit polls after last month's Connecticut primary found that more Democrats (46 per cent) approved of him than Republicans (41 per cent). Weicker has isolated himself from party since the day **Ronald Reagan** was sworn in: he was only GOP senator to vote against 1981 budget, was a major critic of Grenada invasion, has supported the Sandinistas, and praised **Fidel Castro** for "the quality of life" he has brought to Cuba. . . . In the House, Rep. **Edward Boland** (D., Mass.), of the Boland amendments, is stepping down after 36 years and none too soon. "The time has come when the bell tolls on a career that has been for me an exhilarating and fulfilling experience." It may also have tolled on Nicaragua.

Comedian **Mark Russell** on **Ed Meese** and his problems: "I like Meese, but, let's face it, he's a one-man growth industry for lawyers."

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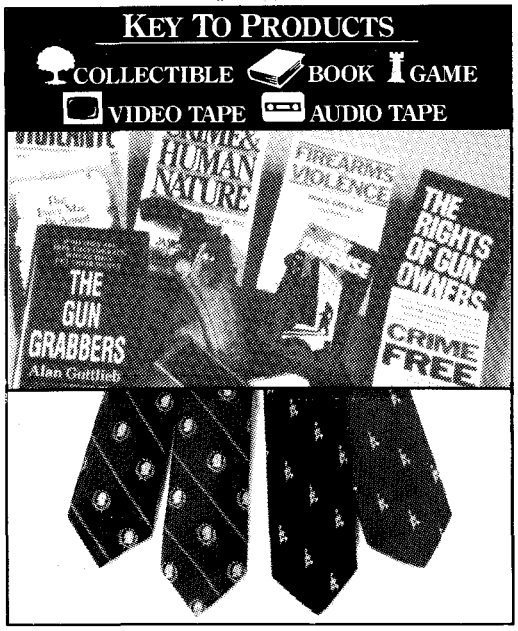

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THE WEEK

☐ When I'm elected, that's no bull.
My friends from PUSH will have the PULL.

☐ In last issue's cover story, Cort Kirkwood reported on Commerce Secretary William Verity's efforts to save the Soviet Union from the doomed structure of its failing economy by widening U.S.-Soviet economic cooperation, weakening high-tech and computer trade restrictions, and expanding Soviet access to American credit markets. As we went to press with that issue, Verity was on his way to Moscow—along with a cohort of five hundred American businessmen—for a round of meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev and other senior Kremlin officials. Well, Verity & Co. got along swimmingly with their new comrades, and seven major American corporations announced plans for a series of joint ventures with the Soviets, on Soviet soil. Which will mean a massive infusion of American technology and hard currency. Armand Hammer's Occidental Petroleum, for example, will build a mammoth, $200-million petrochemical plant in the Ukraine. The Russians "would like to be competitive [in the world economy]," Verity explained, but "they can't do it by themselves." To be sure.

☐ In 1945, this nation's most prestigious educator, President James Bryant Conant of Harvard, said that ICBMs were a scientific impossibility, and in 1897 a British physicist declared that "radio has no future." In 1876, a Boston newspaper editorialized that "Well-informed people know it is impossible to transmit the voice over wires." Yes. And now well-informed people think it's impossible to shoot down ICBMs. But put that on hold. We have also made an apparent breakthrough in the field of harnessing the hydrogen fusion reaction, which when—not if—it becomes feasible will make nuclear-fission plants look like windmills. According to a report just released, scientists have triggered fusion reactions in hydrogen isotopes. The engineering applications are not yet clear, but a hush has descended over the scientific community as regards what this might ultimately mean—among other things, powering weapons that would make any ICBM a piece of carbon. As a proposition of ultimate metaphysical principle, it is possible that matter is infinitely permeable by the mind.

☐ Jeane Kirkpatrick has long been a champion of sanity in U.S. foreign policy, but her views on domestic issues were considered, well, under-baked. Half-jokingly, she once described herself as a "welfare-state conservative." In an interview, titled from that quotation, in the March *Policy Review*, Mrs. Kirkpatrick describes some changes in her view of economics. "I knew before that statist strategies didn't work, but I didn't know there was something else that worked. I suppose . . . that I was influenced by the experience of the Reagan Administration, which demonstrates that even incremental enhancement of reliance on the market stimulates the economy and helps achieve goals like lower unemployment far more effectively than any kind of state action. The evidence now available persuasively demonstrates that socialism and centralized state planning have simply failed to achieve their desired economic ends. And just as fairly, the record indicates that where freedom and market strategies are relied on, economies grow, employment grows, and inflation declines."

☐ You can tear up your plans for the SDI,
'Cause Jesse's the bossman now, that's why.

☐ The Soviets poured between 15,000 and 30,000 new, elite troops into Afghanistan, perhaps to celebrate signing an agreement with Secretary Shultz to remove them.

☐ Honduras is one more country being shaken up by the Administration's war on drugs. Local authorities in Honduras arrested and turned over to U.S. officials one Juan Ramón Matta Ballesteros, a drug-lord alleg-

Now Is the Time, etc.

While George McGovern offers cheers
And Mondale licks his lips and leers,
The time has come to rally round
The Grand Old Party, lest the sound
Of tumbrels echo through the streets
And taxes wipe out country seats.

W. H. von Dreele

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

FOR THOSE whose attention has wandered from the long march of Michael Dukakis and George Bush, Cato commends a real race—and one whose dénouement may turn out to be second in importance only to the outcome of the presidential contest itself.

It is the scramble to succeed West Virginia's Robert Byrd, the man who, for the past 11 years, has served as parliamentary ringmaster of the Senate Democrats. If the Democrats maintain their Senate majority in the fall elections, as expected, one of the three senators vying to succeed him will become the Senate Majority Leader. As such, this man would be in a position to lead his troops into battle against a President Bush, or to make life either pleasant or unbearable for a President Dukakis.

For months, Mr. Byrd's future had been the subject of feverish gossip and speculation. Yes, it was said, Byrd had promised to call it quits at the end of the 100th Congress. No, others claimed, Byrd had never made any such pledge. Three of his colleagues quietly lined up support for their own bids, just in case. Byrd himself maintained a lofty silence on the matter.

Byrd announced his decision to call it quits in characteristically florid style. At the Senate Democrats' weekly private luncheon on April 12, Byrd closed the usual free-for-all on budget, trade, and foreign-policy matters with a twenty-minute survey of the times, good and bad, that he and the rest of the Democrats had had together. Midway through the discourse, one Democrat sitting in the rear of the room leaned over to a colleague and muttered: "That's it—he's going for it again." His associate corrected him: "No, I think he's going to step down." A third senator overheard the exchange and chimed in: "Frankly, I don't know what the hell is going on."

Finally, Byrd got to the punch line: he would not run again for leader, choosing instead to become chairman of the Appropriations Committee. A standing ovation ensued. Although Byrd's 53 Democratic colleagues were ostensibly demonstrating affection for him, most of them could just as easily have been cheering their leader for deciding to quit. The grins on the faces of dozens of senators as they left the lunch room suggested the latter.

Byrd is a circumspect man, one with reverence for institutions and decorum, and he is, in several respects, a true conservative. As a result, he has refused to take on President Reagan in a way the hard-liners would approve —that task has fallen instead to the considerably less reticent House Speaker, Jim Wright. The consequent preeminence of the majority Democrats in the House of Representatives on, for example, issues of war and peace in Central America has been noted sullenly by Democrats in the Senate, many of whom have long yearned for a leader with more pizzazz than the old-worldly Byrd.

Now they have their chance not only to pick a more aggressive leader, but one with stronger liberal credentials as well. Each of the three candidates has his own attractions for his colleagues. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii is the candidate of continuity—already the third-ranking member in the Democratic hierarchy—and he is on virtually every senator's short list of "Most Respected Members of Congress." He has also donated $90,000 to Democratic Senate candidates over the past year—which doesn't hurt in the clubby world of Senate politics.

In the old days, there would have been little doubt that Inouye would win the post. But nowadays, TV appeal is important. Some of Inouye's colleagues believe he hurt himself by his performance as chairman of the Senate's Iran-Contra committee, where Oliver North appeared to get the better of him. Meanwhile, another candidate, George Mitchell of Maine, distinguished himself as a veritable media star in those same hearings. He also presided as chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee in 1986, the year challengers picked up 13 seats and returned control of the Senate to the Democrats. He is the darling of Eastern liberals.

Finally, there is J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana, perhaps the leading exponent of oil and gas interests in the U.S. Senate. He withdrew from a challenge to Byrd two years ago when he realized he didn't have the votes to win. In the meantime, Johnston has collected his share of chits: he raised some $2 million for Democratic candidates in the last election cycle. Johnston brings with him the most fully developed slate of procedural reforms of any of the candidates —something that appeals to freshman senators irritated by rules that permit a small band of lawmakers to hold up the entire Senate. He also enjoys the loyalty of Southerners and comes the closest of any of the candidates to being a conservative.

But Johnston, like Mitchell and Inouye—and, yes, in many respects like Jim Wright—is a fierce partisan. The prospect of facing a Jim Wright in the Senate as well as the House ought to give any would-be President pause.

—CATO

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edly involved in the 1986 murder of a United States Drug Enforcement agent in Mexico. The next day a well-financed demonstration/riot was staged alongside the American Embassy annex, resulting in $4 to $6 million in damages and the death of five rioters, in part because the national-security chief took his time (over two hours) responding to the diplomats' calls for help. What's going on? Honduras is a traditional Latin American country, no better, no worse; top army brass are involved in the drug trade, the politicians are more concerned with preserving their image (and their skin) than with the health of their country, and the people want whatever they can get—handouts from Uncle Sam, or from a freelancer like Matta. True, the U.S. has found the Honduran army and government fairly cooperative in helping the Contras, but the Honduran people are upset that the foreign-aid money their government receives never seems to trickle down. Their dissatisfactions are exploited by Communists and drug-lords alike.

☐ The Heritage Foundation and the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation have released a three-volume compendium—*Issues '88: A Platform for*

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America—with 238 planks on domestic, foreign, defense, and social-policy issues. The work includes ideas and strategies for implementation on matters ranging from inner-city housing to SDI. "While conservatives would have liked to have accomplished more during the past seven years," say the editors of the volumes, "we also realize that revolutions are not won overnight. Ronald Reagan has helped change the debate. Institutional change will follow." *Issues '88* urges lawmakers to "upgrade conventional arms in the wake of the INF treaty, challenge Soviet human-rights abuses, expand the Caribbean Basin Initiative, increase economic and military aid to the Philippines." Needed also: "Lower taxes, fewer government subsidies, more private-sector involvement, alliances with minority and low-income groups to reform welfare, reliance on the states to help the homeless, and new laws to bring federal spending under control."

☐ Long live Fidel, Qaddafi, Che!
And Hymietown will vote that way.

☐ It's college-admissions time again, and Richard Lederer of St. Paul's School has been collecting some choice items from student application forms. One student wrote, "I am in the mist of choosing colleges." Other collectors' items:

—"If there was a single word to describe me, that word would have to be 'profectionist.' "

—"I was abducted into the National Honor Society."

—"I function well as an individual and as a group."

—"I want to be fully bilingual in three or more languages."

—"I proliferate with English courses."

—"Needles to say . . ."

—"Vietnam was an exuberant price to pay for somnolence."

—"I am a freshman at Mount Holyoke College. I am considering going to Bates College for a year and then possibly transferring. I applied as an undergraduate and was weight-listed."

Maybe, *pace* Bloom & Bennett, it's just too late.

☐ This just in. The value of real estate in Japan is estimated at two and a half times that of the United States, and sale of the Imperial Palace grounds in Tokyo, alone, would yield enough money to buy California. We were hoping for a better offer, but . . .

☐ "Moderating virtuous extremism in pursuit of liberty is no vice."—White House Speakesperson.

☐ I do not work so know the facts:
The way to score is raise your tax.

Goodbye to All That

Al Gore, who, with an act of will,
Lurched rightward as he clawed uphill,
Is heading home to Georgetown where,
At sit-down dinners, people care.

W. H. VON DREELE

Dukakis May Be Boring, But . . .

"IF I CAN make it here," said Governor Michael Dukakis with his customary verve and originality on the night of his New York victory, "I can make it anywhere." Well, maybe not in the Electoral College. But certainly in Atlanta this July.

Albert Gore extended the losing streak of moderate Democrats inaugurated four years ago by John Glenn, Ernest Hollings, and Reubin Askew. None of them was all that moderate, of course; Gore was still less so. Even the pretense of moderation seems to be enough to guarantee defeat at the hands of the Democratic-primary electorate as currently constituted.

Jesse Jackson hit his ceiling in New York. The black *Volk* in New York City, which he narrowly carried, is large and well mobilized. But he was routed in the suburbs and upstate—areas which, apart from Philadelphia, the big states immediately ahead of him (Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana) demographically resemble. The Jackson forces hope for a last hurrah in California, where the leader of the Assembly, Willie Brown, is a Jackson supporter. But that won't come until early June—the tail end of the race.

As fears of Jackson at the top of the ticket subside, thoughts will turn to his prospects of filling the second slot. If Vice Presidencies went to the party's second-strongest figure, he would have earned the position. But that is historically rare—Lyndon Johnson and George Bush were exceptions—and the Democrats had better do all they gracefully can to ensure that it doesn't happen this year. Jackson's wild past and wilder positions—about which only Mayor Koch told anything like the truth—raise powerful negatives, even among Democrats. All Jackson can deliver is the black vote, and the party has that anyway. Jews and Catholics would desert in droves. The Democrats must tell him they love him, but give him a pass.

The temptation facing Republicans will be to underestimate Michael Dukakis. There are powerful reasons for doing so. He has the charm of a wall clock, and the flavor of tofu. He has run for the nomination as a kind of cut-rate Cuomo, with none of Cuomo's personal advantages and all of his liberal, Northeast- →

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No Longer Untouchable

"WHO INVITED forty thousand Russian soldiers complete with their Quisling into Afghanistan?"

The London *Economist* began its portentous lead editorial, "America Gone Soft," with this question on January 5, 1980, a few weeks after the Soviet invasion. "Answer: President Carter, the American Congress, and American opinion—and those American allies who have dared not believe, and have done little to remedy or reverse, the crumbling of America's willingness to exercise its power."

Two Reagan terms later we see an America unable to rid itself of the turbulent General Manuel Antonio Noriega, the protégé, literally, of the Moscow-Havana-Managua-Tripoli axis and its satellite, the international drug cartel. There Noriega stands, an immovable object, while the United States, a resistible force, huffs and puffs and can't blow the man down.

General Jan Sejna, who before his defection had been First Secretary at the Czechoslovak Ministry of Defense, has described listening to a secret speech to Warsaw Pact leaders in which Nikita Khrushchev discussed the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Khrushchev asked himself whether the risk had been worth it, and answered yes: "Cuba is still a socialist state. The crisis demonstrated the inability of the United States to liquidate a socialist state, even one under their own windows. . . . America is no longer untouchable." Khrushchev's diagnosis was pretty sound, as his successor, Leonid Brezhnev, demonstrated—in Angola, in Mozambique, in Nicaragua, in Afghanistan.

It is now almost three months since Congress voted to end military aid to the Nicaraguan freedom-fighters. Since that vote on February 3, our position in Central America has been collapsing. The congressional vote was a clear message to pro-U.S. elements in the area: Under pressure, the Americans will run out on you. And what can you really expect of a Congress in which George Crockett, with a 100 per cent record of support for Soviet foreign policy for half a century, is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Western Affairs, and his more cautiously leftist colleague, Senator Christopher Dodd, holds the same subcommittee chairmanship in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee?

A sign of the times: until recently, the Soviet arms shipments to the Sandinistas went from the Black Sea port of Nikolayev via Cuba and then on to Nicaragua. Stopping off in Havana was a form of face-saving: the Soviets didn't want to offend the U.S. by flaunting their military-aid program to Managua. So unconcerned is Mikhail Gorbachev about President Reagan's feelings today that the shipments now go directly from Nikolayev to Nicaragua.

Our most immediate problem is the immobility that afflicts the executive branch. Secretary of State George Shultz understands that what is at stake in Panama is not just Noriega but American power and influence in Central and South America. However, Shultz's men have been unable to persuade the Joint Chiefs of Staff to move against Noriega. They say the JCS has taken control of U.S. policy in Central America. "Like we're a banana republic," says one diplomat bitterly. He continues: "It's the uniformed military against the civilians. Remember, this isn't a debate over policy; that would be fair. This is a unified military sabotaging debate . . . Let's put it simply: . . . [Frank] Carlucci is backing the Joint Chiefs against the President's policy on Panama."

The Honduran military, the Guatemalan military have their eyes fixed on Panama. To men like Elliot Abrams, the State Department's chief anti-Noriega strategist, the silent watch is ominous. There hasn't been a single military coup in Latin America in seven years except for Noriega's, but there's an election coming up in Ecuador, and the Ecuadoran military has inquired of U.S. embassy officials in Quito: What's going on in Panama? What they're really asking is: Are there any enforceable U.S. penalties for a military coup d'état against a civilian regime?

The real test of American will in Panama will be whether Abrams stays on his job or whether he is fired. President Reagan's chief of staff, Howard Baker, and Defense Secretary Carlucci want Abrams, one of the few remaining conservatives in the executive branch, out of office as soon as possible. Meaning no reflection on Carlucci and Baker, but Noriega would also love to see Abrams out. In fact, Noriega recently told Reuters that he had a jail cell all ready for Abrams if he ever sets foot in Panama, a country which is now in the "socialist" camp and, therefore, a prospective beneficiary of the Brezhnev doctrine.

All the foregoing should spotlight the real issue in Central America, the one posed by Khrushchev in his inimitable fashion: "The [Cuban] crisis demonstrated the inability of the United States to liquidate a socialist state, even one under their own windows." Khrushchev was correct in 1964 and he is still correct a quarter of a century later.

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ern drawbacks. His foreign-policy experience consists, as Richard Gephardt put it, of negotiating with the governor of New Hampshire. His New York campaign suggests that he can find Cyprus on a map, but little else.

The Republicans should think again. Dukakis is a graduate of the most rough-and-tumble political school in the nation (Massachusetts makes New York City look like kindergarten). He won the governorship in 1974, lost it in 1978, then clawed his way back in 1982. The mastermind of his resurrection, John Sasso, has been cooling his heels in Coventry since the episode of the Biden-attack video, but he and Dukakis have kept in touch. Once the national campaign is under way, look for Sasso to sidle back in.

Dukakis's ethnicity, a possible drawback in the South, will pose a special problem for Republicans elsewhere. America has served as compactor of non-Protestant, non-Jewish immigrant groups. People who came here as Galwaymen or Calabrians or whatnot first became Irish or Italian, and then Ethnic. Republicans have been poaching this vote for forty years, but John Kennedy was able to get it to backslide, and Michael Dukakis is, at least prima facie, well positioned to do the same. George Herbert Walker Bush is, also on the face of it, not well positioned to resist him.

A final point: Bush is strongest in Dukakis's weakest suit, foreign policy. But what Dukakis will be able to do, whenever the subject comes up, is chant the mantra of Iran-Contra. The press will do his homework for him, and explain to him all the tough bits.

The Bush-Dukakis race won't be 1960. But it won't be 1984, either.

Massachusetts Will Need A Miracle

THE MASSACHUSETTS legislature has passed Governor Dukakis's plan to guarantee health insurance to everyone, including the unemployed. Some 600,000 of the state's residents (10 per cent) are currently uninsured. Employers with more than five workers will initially pay about $1,680 per worker, if they do not already spend that much for health insurance (as two-thirds do). The cost estimates, of course, will soon prove as wildly optimistic as they did with Medicare and Medicaid. Individuals are expected to pay one-fourth of the cost, on average, but that depends on their income. The unemployed reportedly "would pay what they could." Sure they will.

"We are sending a very important signal out to the people," says Governor Dukakis. Indeed they are. To a business with seven low-wage employees, the message is: Fire two of your employees or go out of business. To workers, the message is that if you earn nothing you can get something valuable for free, while if you earn something you will have to pay for the benefit. For the unemployed, the cost of becoming employed just went way up. For everyone, the benefits of working "off the books" in the underground economy also went way up.

For companies employing unskilled workers, it will now cost an extra 16.8 per cent, at least, to offer someone a job paying $10,000 a year. This is the worst possible sort of payroll tax, since the cost is a much larger burden on low-wage jobs than on high-wage jobs (which offer such benefits already). Employers can't possibly pay more in wages and fringe benefits—health insurance included—than workers add to the firm's revenue. Either wages have to go down to match the increased cost of fringe benefits, or, more likely, jobs that would otherwise have been created simply cannot justify the added cost.

If this idea ever went national, as Senator Kennedy's similar bill proposes, there is no stopping the potential lunacy. Why not require employers literally to provide every worker with a free lunch? How about requiring free housing while we're at it, and a company car to every student who flips hamburgers at McDonald's? One value of federalism, however, is that it provides a testing ground for such ideas. The results for Massachusetts are quite predictable. Employment of young people and other entry-level, unskilled workers will decline, a growing "underground" economy will erode state tax receipts, and the state will become less competitive with other states and countries. Thanks for the econ lesson, Mike.

The Jackson Effect

Pied pipers pack a lot of clout,
As Hamelin's notables found out
When all the kids skipped out of town,
Bedazzled by that knowing clown,
And though municipal affairs
Returned to normal, no one dares
(In Hamelin, that is) make a move
The piper's people don't approve.

W. H. VON DREELE

The Afghan Unraveling

THE U.S.-SOVIET Afghan accord is being opposed most vigorously by the party that is theoretically its principal beneficiary: the Afghan freedom-fighters themselves.

The barest knowledge of Communist treaty compliance in the past ought to cast a long shadow over

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Jesse Jackson's 38.5 Per Cent Solution

JESSE JACKSON says that if elected President he will raise the top tax rate back up to 38.5 per cent for individuals earning more than $192,000 a year, a move that he claims will raise an additional $20 billion.

That's good money if you can get it, but according to Harvard economics professor Lawrence Lindsey, there isn't enough taxable income above $192,000 to generate that kind of revenue:

TAXABLE INCOME AND TAXES
AT EACH MARGINAL TAX RATE, 1988

Tax Bracket For 4-Person Family	Marginal Tax Rate (Per Cent)	Taxable Income (In Billions)	Income Tax Generated (In Billions)
$0-$29,750	15	$1,354	$203
$29,750-$71,900	28	361	101
$71,900-$192,930	33	113	37
$192,930+	28	120	34
		$1,948	$375

Only 6 per cent of taxable income currently falls into the highest bracket, generating $34 billion of taxes. Raise the rate on that income to 38.5 per cent, and at best you would get an additional $12 billion.

In reality, the government would be lucky to get any additional revenue considering the likely response of high-income taxpayers. Because of tax shelters, many taxpayers in this bracket qualify to pay the Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT) at a 21 per cent marginal rate. Raising the rate on the top bracket to 38.5 per cent would increase the spread between ordinary and AMT rates from 7 per cent to 17.5 per cent, making tax shelters that much more attractive.

Consider what happened after 1981. The top marginal rate on earnings, which had effectively been 70 per cent despite the statutory maximum of 50 per cent, was lowered to 50 per cent. From 1982 to 1985, according to Lindsey's calculations, high-income taxpayers (those with taxable incomes above $200,000) reported $86.8 billion more taxable income than they would have at the pre-cut rate. This wasn't a case of the rich getting richer—in fact, dividend and interest income was below expectations. But the income of entrepreneurs, lawyers, and doctors—people who have enormous discretion as to how much and when they pay themselves—was nearly three times what we would have expected.

Over the past decade, while marginal tax rates on the highest incomes were being cut by 60 per cent, the share of taxes paid by the wealthiest 1 per cent of families rose 22.1 per cent, and that of the poorer half fell 7.8 per cent. Mr. Jackson's tax plan would reverse this trend. —ED RUBENSTEIN

any new Soviet offer, but somehow history becomes inadmissible evidence whenever treaty fever strikes. Even the most optimistic, however, should be able to grasp the reasons for the Afghan resistance's reluctance.

The Soviets have already lied about their troop levels in Afghanistan, putting the number at 90,000. The real figure is around 120,000, with 15,000 fresh troops reportedly sent in this month. None of these figures counts the 10,000 Soviet-bloc secret police and "security advisory" personnel already in place to serve as a permanent infrastructure of repression.

The new Geneva accords will do nothing to prevent the Soviets from using diplomatic and covert pressure (including assassinations and terrorist bombings) against Pakistan to prevent the Pakistanis from aiding the free-world effort to supply the freedom-fighters. But those accords would let the Soviets use the international verification apparatus to press Pakistan to dismantle resistance facilities. They will establish self-policing measures in the free world, while giving the Soviets a lever to demand international sanctions against both Pakistan and the Afghan resistance itself (probably at the autumn United Nations sessions). Meanwhile, the Soviets can continue using their own Central Asian Muslim cadres (Tadjiks and Uzbeks) to work with sympathetic Afghans for the annexation of northern Afghanistan.

Wall Street Lays Another Egg

ON APRIL 14 the Dow Jones stock index dropped 101 points; the following day it began to recover. The drop was widely attributed to the release of a February trade-deficit statistic, but the instant rebound shows there was more to it than that. While Congress is in session, and Jesse Jackson is in New York, investors can have no rest. On the morning of April 14, the *New York Times* reported that "Congressional Democrats moved toward a compromise with the White House today on controversial elements of sweeping trade legislation, increasing chances that the bill might escape a veto." This is the same news that hit

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the market on Sunday, June 15, 1930, when it was announced, rather unexpectedly, that President Hoover would sign the Smoot-Hawley tariff. The stock market collapsed the following morning, and continued to fall for two years.

The 1988 trade bill is not Smoot-Hawley, of course, but it still contains plenty of reasons for foreign investors to flee U.S. securities. For one thing, there is the Bryant Amendment, which requires immediate public disclosure of any "sizable" purchase of U.S. assets by foreign investors. This is widely considered a first step toward restricting foreign investment, which has been enormously helpful in restructuring and rebuilding U.S. industry. The *Detroit News* had presciently observed on April 11 that, "After the Bryant Amendment began to pick up steam [on April 1], stock markets took a steep nosedive—a mini-crash reminiscent of last October, after Congress began consideration of a measure that would have prevented most takeovers altogether, foreign or domestic." Any restriction on how dollars can be spent or invested must reduce the value of those dollars to foreigners, so the dollar naturally tumbled with the surprising April 14 news that the trade bill, possibly including the Bryant Amendment, might *not* be vetoed.

On the following day, and particularly by Monday, April 18, the news stories about President Reagan signing the trade bill had suddenly turned completely around. "Politics Doom Trade Bill," screamed *The Journal of Commerce*'s headline on April 18. Democrats had decided to keep the bill's provision requiring two months' advance warning before closing a plant. At noon the following day, however, President Reagan said he wanted a trade bill, and the market fell again. That supposedly assures a veto.

The plant-closing provision is indeed foolish, since it would also warn suppliers and creditors that a plant was about to close, so it would have to shut down much *sooner* for lack of supplies and credit. "Eurosclerosis" abroad should have taught us that anything that makes it too costly to close a failing plant also makes businessmen wary of opening any new plants in the first place.

The real financial risk, however, is much deeper than any particular item in the bill. The U.S. stock and bond markets and the dollar will remain vulnerable to another steep slide so long as the trade bill remains alive, never mind whether it contains the plant-closing provision or the Bryant Amendment. The whole point of the trade bill is at least to threaten injury to foreign countries, like Japan and Germany. If foreigners learn that their future income is about to be jeopardized by U.S. trade nastiness, they will rush to acquire safe and liquid investments in their own currency, unloading U.S. stocks and bonds in a distress sale in order to get the dollars to convert into yen or marks. That has to depress both the dollar and the stock market, and push U.S. interest rates sky high. The resulting recession would indeed achieve the trade bill's intent of cutting imports, but depression abroad would decrease U.S. exports even more.

A Separate Peace

THE SANDINISTAS celebrated their truce with the Nicaraguan resistance by cutting off the supply of newsprint to the country's lone opposition paper, *La Prensa*, for five days.

From the Sandinistas' point of view, the cutoff was entirely justified. Newsprint is a state monopoly; because of the condition of the Nicaraguan economy, it is in short supply; there are two other major Nicaraguan newspapers, both of them loyal government organs. Why give handouts to the enemy?

There are left-liberals in this country who will swallow that argument, feathers and all. They tend to be the same people who bristle at the suggestion—first made by Spiro Agnew—that an adversarial relationship between the government and the major media in this country even exists. (Think what they would have said if Nixon, or Reagan, had tried to impound the *Washington Post*'s paper supply.) As far as they are concerned, there are two sets of rules: progressive revolutionary politics, for Nicaraguans; First Amendment absolutism, for *yanquis*.

Conservatives occasionally have fun with this dou-

Jac, *Pourquoi Pas* / Rothco

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ble standard, imputing covert racism to those who uphold it: what's good enough for the brown brother would not be good enough for us. In fact, the current of left-liberal disdain probably runs the other way: what the Sandinistas have been able to accomplish in Nicaragua, we are not yet politically advanced enough to contemplate here.

Whatever the domestic Left may believe, Nicaraguans know what to think. Truce or no truce, they continue to live in a one-party state. If it is not entirely totalitarian, it is only through lack of opportunity, not lack of will. Violeta Chamorro, head of the board of *La Prensa*, is singled out nightly on prime-time state-run television as a "traitor and assassin." Her telephone is tapped and she receives anonymous death threats. If the Sandinistas want to deny her the wherewithal to publish, they have the power; and when, having held a finger to the international political breeze, they figure they can get away with it, they will do so.

For now, and for the foreseeable future, Nicaragua has a separate peace—separate from any organic improvement.

Bennett at the Bridge

IN AN ADDRESS of the first importance, Education Secretary William Bennett, speaking at Stanford, castigated that university for abandoning its popular and successful course in the Western classics—and for doing so in response to the pressure of black militants and campus radicals. "My judgment is this: Stanford's decision of March 31 to alter its Western Culture program was not a product of enlightened debate, but rather an unfortunate capitulation to a campaign of pressure politics and intimidation." The damage to Stanford promises to be serious, if slow in becoming visible: "Intimidation works."

But, beyond Stanford, Mr. Bennett provided a paradigmatic argument for studying the Western classics, an argument that has wide application to other institutions: "Why must we study, nurture, and defend the West? I'll give you four reasons. First, because it is ours. . . . The second reason we must study the West is because it is good. . . . This leads me to the third reason—the reason that Western civilization's critics seem to have entirely missed: the West is a source of incomparable intellectual complexity and diversity and depth. . . . my final reason for studying and protecting the West and its unique tradition of open discourse and philosophic inquiry: we must do so because the West is under attack."

Precisely. The campus Left does not want to listen to a debate between Voltaire and St. Augustine on religion or between Marx and Madison on the state. The campus Left is utopian, and has a vision of a future in which racism, sexism, ageism, nationalism, weapons, and economic inequality will cease to exist. The past is irrelevant to this utopian future. There is on the campus what amounts to a conscious intellectual conspiracy against a Western tradition, "from Homer through the present," that includes some of the greatest works of the human intellect. Within this conscious conspiracy, it is a moral imperative to assert that some tom-tom beater is as good as Bach.

But Bennett, at Stanford, stepped courageously into the belly of the beast, and said some true and, at Palo Alto, unfamiliar things.

Speakes Spiked

IT LOOKED at the start like another one of those Beltway dust storms. Larry Speakes, the former White House spokesman, revealed in his not-yet-published-but-everywhere-reviewed book that he had twice put words in Reagan's mouth. Reagan grunted; Bush barked; the press commenced its usual chatter.

Then Speakes lost his job. Merrill Lynch, for which he had gone to work after leaving Washington, did not want the services of a confessed fibber. One White House official expressed surprise: "We sort of thought that this was a one-day flap."

An unsurprising reaction from this White House, which has had a chronic problem with staff discipline. The pattern was set early on, when David Stockman's musings about the pitfalls of Reaganomics appeared in *The Atlantic*. When Stockman, instead of losing his stripes, stayed on, the signal was clear: anything goes.

Other Presidents ran tighter ships ("I would have been chewed up and spit out if I did that," one of LBJ's old flacks observed of Speakes). So, it seems, does the private sector.

Passing the Buck

AMERICA's Roman Catholic bishops are preparing another letter on nuclear war, to be issued in June, and the relevant committee has released a draft. Their first pastoral letter on the subject, five years ago, was released only six weeks after President Reagan announced SDI, and so could not take it into account. The new draft does—inadequately.

The bishops acknowledge that "some" of SDI's objectives—moving away from long-term reliance on deterrence, protecting society as a whole—"correspond to key themes" of their first letter. But they conclude that the SDI project should be continued without deployment and within the limits of the ABM treaty—which, in effect, kills SDI.

The bishops get from here to there with the assistance of four "principles": 1) "that the framework of arms-control agreements and negotiations not be eroded or made more difficult"; 2) "that a new surge

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of offensive competition not be stimulated"; 3) "that the stability of deterrence not be weakened in an untested attempt to transcend" it; and 4) "that defense spending as a whole not absorb a morally disproportionate percentage of the federal budget."

Some preliminary objections to these principles are obvious. The morally proportionate percentage of the budget that should go to defense is whatever it takes to stay safe and free. Whether SDI will provoke a "surge" of offensive competition is impossible to say; it will certainly provoke some, somewhere down the line. The defense always stimulates the offense, and vice versa, and will continue to do so, until the bishops' committee on ending Original Sin brings in its final report.

But the most problematic principle is the first, which places an absolute (disproportionate?) value on negotiations. The "framework" can always be "eroded" by the displeasure of one of the parties. If one party dislikes something, then it becomes *a priori* unacceptable. What the bishops, like all postulants at the shrine of the arms-control process, have done is to offer themselves as permanent hostages to the bad opinion of the Soviets. It is not surprising, therefore, that the bishops' opinion of SDI should coincide with Gorbachev's.

The structure of the bishops' argument strangely resembles that of liberal Catholic politicians who explain their support of abortion as deference to consensus. In each case, the moral buck is passed—to negotiations, or to the electorate.

If something is worth doing, it may be worth doing over the objections of others—especially the objections of enemies.

Alan Paton, R I P

IN 1948 A BOOK was published with a bewildering title, by an unknown author, on a theme alien to American concerns. The book became the central cultural document of South Africa, where it sold more copies than any other volume save the Bible. *Cry, the Beloved Country* is free of bitterness, telling the story of a fraternal bond between a black minister tormented by the sins of his son and his sister, and a white man."

With these words, in May 1977, I began my introduction of Alan Paton, on *Firing Line*. It struck me, after the hour was done, that a great fatigue was on him: that he had grown old, as some of the prophets grew old, under the pressures of a noncompliant world. Alan Paton stayed active in politics, as head of the Liberal Party (which favored the universal franchise). When he left the party, he also left politics, confining himself to criticism of his country's policies, as also criticism of nostrums favored by other foes of apartheid (Paton consistently opposed economic sanctions).

Last week's *Time* magazine published an incomplete essay by Paton, incomplete because he was taken to the hospital before finishing it. But *Time* gives us what he did write, and Paton began by saying, "I have lost my surefootedness. . . . I do not now feel happy walking among the coarse hummocks of a grassy hill. . . . When I was a young student of 17 or 18, I remember crossing the Umsindusi River . . . on the stepping-stones. I didn't walk, I ran. Today I would fall into the river at the first stone. I have grown very lethargic." And then he quoted four lyrical sentences from one of his books, introducing them with the sigh, "I shall never again write such words as these."

Twenty years ago Bennett Cerf, the founder and publisher of Random House, told me that he kept two young women busy reading fiction books sent to Random House over the transom. "In thirty years, we've only published two titles that came in that way." Why don't you cancel the operation, I asked? "Because one of those books was *Cry, the Beloved Country*." About the author of that book one could only say that he had reason to be fatigued, and that he had earned eternal rest. —WFB

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Memo to: Bill
From: Jim McFadden

Did you see this? Among the other honorees are Harry Belafonte, César Chávez, Teddy Kennedy, Michael Harrington, Ralph Nader, and Jim Wright. Do we know you by the company you keep?

[Enclosure] *Jersey Journal*, Jersey City, N.J., November 27, 1987: "Twenty Americans Deserve Special Thanks," syndicated column by Coretta Scott King: "I know of no better way to get into trouble than to start thanking people, because you will surely overlook some deserving souls. But Thanksgiving weekend is a time to express appreciation for the blessings of America. In this spirit I offer a toast to twenty Americans who have helped make these blessings meaningful:

". . . William Buckley, whom I almost never agree with, but who has set the highest standards for the discussion of public policy and challenged liberals to refine their arguments."

Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. King: That was real nice of you to remember me as you did on Thanksgiving. I hope it won't get you into trouble, and I promise not to cast the

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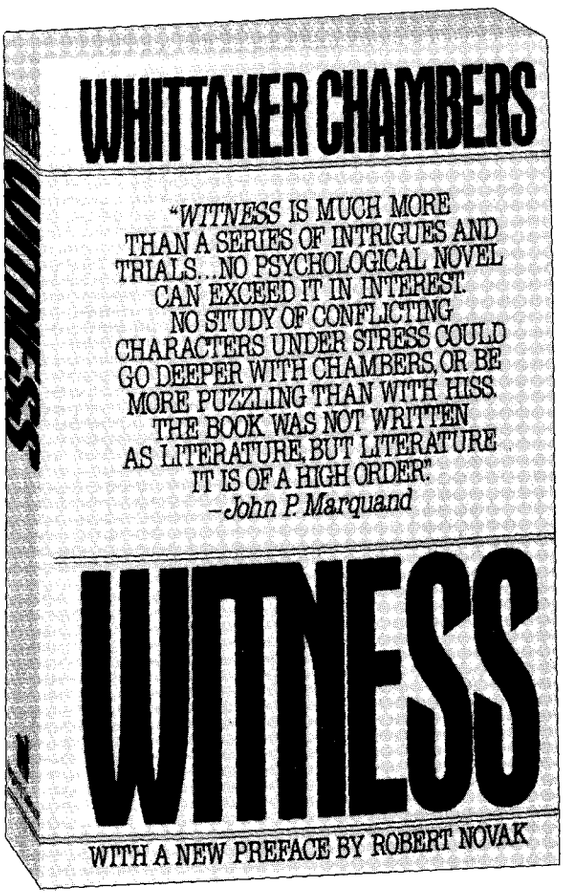
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–John P. Marquand
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About the book . . .

It's no overstatement to say that *Witness* is one of the greatest books of this century. Once you pick it up you will be hard put to lay it aside. In one sense, it's sheer spine-tingling melodrama with all the elements of a superb mystery/spy-thriller. Yet, it's all true, the unforgettable story of one man's lonely struggle that, in the end, becomes Everyman's struggle against tyranny and materialism. If you've ever wondered why so many intellectuals become Communists you'll find the answer here in this shocking acount of the Communist Fifth Column in America by a man who was there and took part in it, and who names names.

As John P. Marquand wrote, "*Witness* is much more than a series of intrigues and trials. . . . No psychological novel can exceed it in interest. No study of conflicting characters under stress could go deeper with Chambers, or be more puzzling than with Hiss. The book was not written as literature, but literature it is of a high order." Amen.

Unfortunately, *Witness* has been out of print for so long that a whole generation has grown up largely unaware of the treasure that awaits them in this remarkable book. But now it is once again available, complete and unabridged, a new and high-quality soft-cover edition. This new edition sells for $11.95 retail, but you can get it FREE and postpaid. Simply enter your subscription to *National Review* (or extend your present subscription for 25 more issues, no matter when it is due to expire) at the regular $36 yearly rate, and we'll send a brand-new copy of *Witness* to you posthaste. (Remember, we pay all postage and handling—another big saving for you.)

So, if you don't already have a copy of *Witness* in your home be sure you get a copy now (every member of your family will benefit from this one). If you do own a copy of *Witness*, you can still subscribe or renew (something we hope you'll be doing eventually anyway) and use the book as a gift where it will do the most good. In any event, act now. Fill out the handy card facing this page and send it to us today.

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first stone. Hope you won't interpret this as doing so! With all good wishes, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I received describing a plan to make Princeton a Sister City of Granada, Nicaragua. Since beginning my graduate studies at the University over two years ago, I've seen to what extent both town and gown suffer from a bad case of progressive, liberal brain degeneracy. The pitiful and confused busybodies who can't find better ways to spend their time shouldn't be allowed to get away with this sort of thing without a fight. However, I am reluctant to take them on alone. Perhaps a mention in *NR* would generate the kind of wider interest that might at least impede them, if not defeat them.

Sincerely,
Donald W. Roberts
Plasma Physics Laboratory
P.O. Box 451
Princeton, N.J. 08544

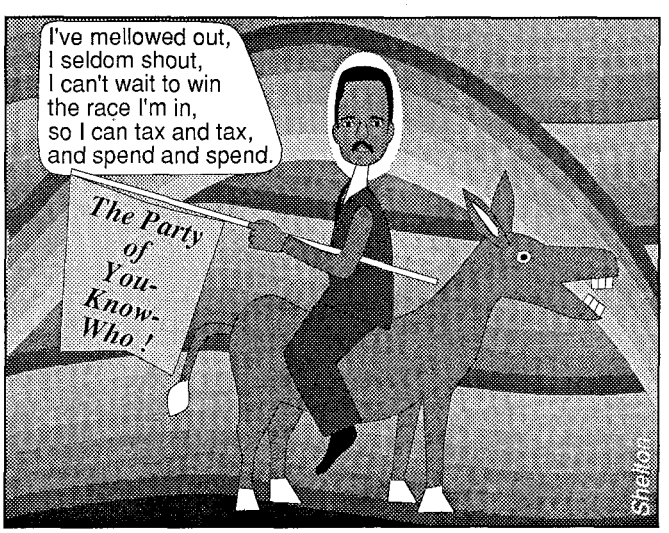
PRINCETON-GRANADA SISTER CITIES COMMITTEE
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY, U.S.A.

The Princeton-Granada Sister Cities Committee is working to make Princeton a Sister City with Granada, Nicaragua, and to build cordial relations between the people of the Princeton area and the people of Nicaragua. . . . The following projects are the first efforts to make that goal a reality:

Children's art exchange: Drawings by students at the Carlos A. Bravo School in Granada have been on display at Princeton's Riverside School. Riverside students will be preparing an exhibit to send to the Bravo School with the next Princeton delegation. . . .

Shipment of donations: Especially needed are school supplies, medical supplies and equipment, tools (hand and power), light clothing, toys and sporting goods.

Funds: Money is needed to pay for a) shipping of the donated goods, b) medicine and hospital equipment, and c) roofing for the library of the Carlos A. Bravo School. . . .



Dear Mr. Roberts: Perhaps Princeton will adopt a sister city in Cambodia or Vietnam or North Korea or —why not the whole of Russia? Cordially, WFB

☐ Frank A. Olson
Chairman
The Hertz Corporation

Dear Frank,

Thank you so much for sending me the Christmas card wishing me and my Hertz Platinum Card a Merry Christmas and a prosperous New Year.

I heard through the grapevine that you gave Bill Buckley a seat on the New York Stock Exchange for having driven ten thousand miles in one of your cars. I was curious whether you are handing these out to all Platinum Service clients, or just to Buckley because of his television show. Buckley is always one-upping me and I was wondering if he invented the tale of the Stock Exchange seat to get me mad.

Sincerely,
Art [Buchwald]
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. OLSON: GOT YOUR SELL ORDER—HERTZCO, 1,000,000 SHARES—FLOOR GOING CRAZY, HAVING A WONDERFUL TIME, LET'S DO SOMETHING ONE OF THESE DAYS FOR ART, WHAT DO YOU SAY? BUCKLEY

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I have noticed that people often write to you about small but puzzling aspects of everyday life. Why your subscribers engage in this activity is unknown to me. However, I feel compelled to offer the following: can you tell me why, during the local PBS fundraising, you and your coterie of *Firing Line* guests disappear from the airwaves? Your hour of lively conversation is nearly always replaced by the likes of *Oppenheimer*, the story of how Robert J. invented the bomb and ended up feeling quite sorry for himself because of it. Or, *The Hollywood 10*, a tale of how those hardworking entertainment types suffered a decline in their standard of living because of some crazed, right-wing fanatics. You get the idea. Do the station executives believe that only liberals make donations to public TV? That only liberals watch during the fund drive? That liberals watch only during those two weeks viewers are subjected to hard-sell pleading and a heavy-handed guilt trip? Please advise.

Sincerely,
Laura M. Skokandic
San Pedro, Calif.

Dear Miss Skokandic: Sorry, cannot advise, do not know. Cordially, **—WFB**

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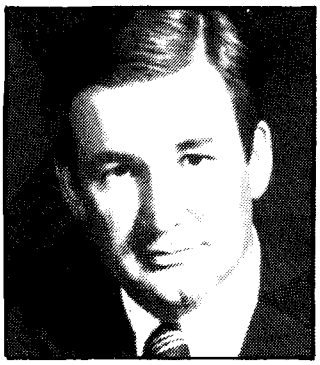
It's an all-star conservative roster



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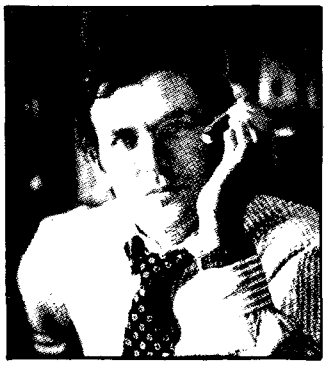

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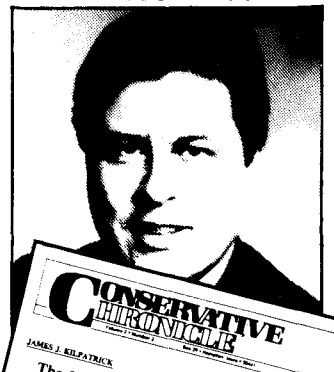

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THE LEADERSHIP ELECTION

SIX MONTHS have passed since the October stock-market crash, which spawned so much worry about a steep recession, or worse, in 1988. Instead, the economy blossomed, with 4.8 per cent growth in the final quarter of 1987, closing out the calendar year with an overall growth rate of 2.9 per cent.

Leading indicators for early 1988 appear to signal yet another year of expansion. Sales of single-family homes, the harbinger of trends throughout the retail sector, rose 20 per cent in February. Unemployment declined from 5.7 to 5.6 per cent in March, and a further slight downtick by year's end seems to be in the cards. The prime interest rate remains below 10 per cent, and inflation is under 4 per cent. The one real worry is the trade deficit, which, after a period of cautious improvement, has suddenly ballooned again.

Still, the statistical soup smells good to Republicans. When the market plunged in October, Democrats took a grim delight in what then looked like the long-awaited comeuppance of Reaganomics. Republicans, by the same token, were terrified. A collapsing economy in a presidential year is the electric chair for the party in power. This simple fact prompted Bob Dole to focus his presidential bid on reducing the deficit in order to maintain the economy. Dole won big in Iowa, recall. That state's economy has been hard pressed by declining commodity prices, as the Federal Reserve Board squeezed out the after-effects of high inflation. So Iowa farmers were unhappy with Reaganomics.

New Hampshire was a different story. Dole was too negative for a state that has enjoyed an economic boom under Reagan. New Hampshire voters don't like the idea of paying higher taxes. They want the deficit to be whittled down by economic growth and spending cuts. Nor have bad-news Democratic presidential candidates fared better than Dole. Richard Gephardt, who also ran a campaign premised on economic weakness, shone in Iowa and dimmed thereafter.

So it's no accident that Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis and Vice President George Bush will be squaring off against one another this fall. Both have geared themselves to run in a time of economic growth rather than economic hardship, and this approach has contributed to their success as contenders. Dukakis talks about the "economic miracle" of Massachusetts, and Bush trades on Reaganomics. Other candidates can only lament the economy's improvement, which has been in inverse proportion to their presidential hopes.

Okay. But, come November, will a good economy automatically benefit the party in power? Perhaps. In presidential politics it is axiomatic that voters vote their pocketbooks. But after six years of prosperity, are voters now ready for a change? There is no one more fickle than the happy voter.

Many of the major issues of the late Seventies appear close to resolution. The war/peace issue—whether we are handling the Soviet challenge well—is withering in the face of movement on arms control and the Soviet pullout from Afghanistan. Ironically, however, this success achieved under the Reagan Doctrine may deprive Republicans of a political advantage this autumn. Given a lessening of tensions between the superpowers, how much advantage accrues from the perception that the GOP is better able to handle the Soviets?

Likewise, the economy may not be a major issue. Polls show voters are now willing to blame both Democrats and Republicans for the deficits. The simple lack of a major economic problem—whether inflation, a low growth rate, or unemployment—deprives the GOP of its traditional advantage of being seen as the party better able to manage the economy. So goes the logic not only of Democrats, but also of hard-headed Bushites planning for a more competitive election than many had hitherto envisioned.

So, on what grounds will the fall campaign be contested? On the only grounds left, leadership. Dukakis and Bush will square off on the intangible issue of who can better lead the country for the next four years. It is dangerously personal ground, and no real measure can be taken of either contender until the two stand side by side in media coverage following the conventions. Thus far, Bush's leadership attributes have been largely hidden under the mantle of loyalty to the President. Now he must declare his independence and offer a credible portrayal of what, if elected, he intends to do.

BUSH CAMPAIGN officials are planning a series of substantial speeches in which the candidate will give his views on foreign policy and the economy; he is expected to propose amendments to federal budget laws, possibly including provisions giving the next President the power to accomplish through impounding funds what Reagan wanted to do with a line-item veto. Dukakis is expected to offer similar "vision" speeches after he emerges from the Jackson challenge.

Independents will determine the outcome of this election. Thus, the candidates' campaigns could make the difference. The 1988 election may resemble the race of 1960 more than any other in recent presidential history, meaning —if you accept the logic—that anything could happen. It will test whether either party gained or lost ground under Reagan, or whether the *politique* of the last eight years was simply an outgrowth of Ronald Reagan's charisma. □

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With single coat finishes, the color is exposed to the atmosphere, so sun, water, wind and dirt can cause deterioration. With base coat/clear coat paint, the color is not exposed to the atmosphere, so the desirable characteristics of the finish last longer.

Base coat/clear coat finishes require less maintenance, but they, like all paints, are susceptible to abrasives, which will scratch the finish or give it a hazy appearance, reducing both its gloss and imaging (mirror-like) qualities.

Wash any base coat/clear coat finish with gentle, non-abrasive cleaners, rinsing away all loose dirt with plenty of water before sponging on the soapy solution.

Rinse the cloth or sponge or change it frequently to avoid scratching the finish with dirt or grit. If you use a commercial tar or bug remover, read the instructions carefully, then try it out on an inconspicuous area first.

If you use a commercial car wash, look for one that uses a soft scrub system. A few car wash systems employ harsh brushes, which may scratch the clear coat finish.

Base coat/clear coat paint need not be polished as often as a lacquer or enamel to remove the grime and effects of weathering. When you do polish it (once or twice a year), use a mild cleaning wax, not an abrasive. Polish gently, by hand.

Avoid mechanical polishing or sanding of the surface.

Don't use a scrub brush on the paint or on the wheels, if they're aluminum mag wheels with clear coat paint on them.

You can help maintain the finish on your car by parking and driving wisely. Try not to park under trees, where bird droppings or sap, which contain compounds that can injure the finish, may fall onto your car. Try to park upwind from industrial areas. If you get cement dust or fly ash on your car from any fire or smokestack, rinse it off immediately.

When you drive, go easy on the gas pedal to keep stones from flying up and chipping the paint during quick starts. When traveling on dirt or gravel roads, put some extra distance between you and the car ahead to avoid running into stones thrown into the air by that car's tires.

If you get a scratch or chip in the finish, and it's a deep one, you should probably seek expert repair advice on how to keep it looking good and to avoid exposing bare metal to the elements. If the scratch is small, auto supply stores and GM dealers offer two-step touch-up paints to repair the underlying color coat and the clear coat finish.

General Motors has made this better finish standard for all colors on most models of cars and trucks. Consult your owner's manual or ask your dealer whether your car has base coat/clear coat paint.

If you have this new finish, try a little tenderness, and your car will look better for a long, long time.

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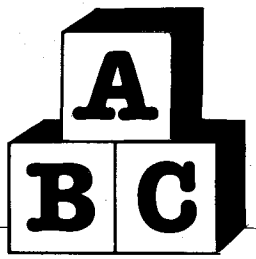

CONNAUGHT MARSHNER

In 1970, Walter Mondale led the Federal Government on a foray into child development. Supporters of his legislation, which would have created a massive network of federally funded day-care centers, rhapsodized about the glories of communal child-rearing. In the end, that kind of rhetoric did in the dream of federal day care. Congress and the White House were besieged by an unprecedented, spontaneous outpouring of mail from outraged citizens, mostly women. On December 9, 1971, Richard Nixon vetoed the Mondale bill. Some trace the birth of the pro-family movement to that day.

Almost two decades later, thanks to low-visibility, high-pressure tactics implemented by a classic coalition of left-wing interest groups, a very similar bill is quietly about to become law. The Act for Better Child Care (ABC) is the centerpiece of the Democrats' new "pro-family" agenda, which looks a whole lot like the old socialistic agenda wrapped in pretty, new rhetoric. The bill, which has 36 Senate and 163 House co-sponsors, creates a new bureaucracy in the Health and Human Services Department to regulate the nation's day care, and authorizes $2.5 billion in federal aid to day-care centers.

In a nod to the idea of local control, 75 per cent of that sum is allocated to the states, which, under the terms of the bill, may subsidize day care for parents with incomes of up to 115 per cent of their state's median income. A nice twist, that: it means that in New Jersey, for instance, a family can earn $46,920 and still be eligible for taxpayers' assistance with its child-care costs.

But Uncle Sam giveth, and Uncle Sam taketh away. The fine print dictates in great detail exactly how the states may spend the money. For example, 15 per cent of a state's allocation must be reserved for training programs, clearinghouses, and the development of statewide day-care referral systems. Another 10 per cent is earmarked for administrative costs. This part of the bill is a bureaucrat's dream. It requires each state to draft a state child-care plan, develop day-care advisory committees, and hold annual day-care hearings in every region of the state—ensuring continual pressure for expanded day-care funding. States are required to review and strengthen their day-care licensing laws and expand day-care regulations. A national advisory committee will recommend federal standards for child care. The newly created HHS National Administrator for Child Care would decide which standards to enforce.

In the same Indian-giving spirit, ABC symbolically acknowledges the importance of parental choice by authorizing the use of child-care vouchers, then turns around and declares that vouchers are to be considered a form of government aid—meaning parents with children in church day-care centers need not apply.

The major supporters of ABC are gathered together in the Alliance for Better Child Care, an umbrella organization including labor unions, feminists, day-care professionals, and Mondale socialists, under the direction of the Children's Defense Fund, a militant welfare-rights organization. But the pro-ABC coalition also includes a large number of other groups the Left hasn't been able to get together on day care since the Seventies: the National Council of Jewish Women, the American Association for Marriage and Family Therapy, the American Psychological Association, and the American Academy of Pediatrics, as well as a generous handful of socially aware church denominations.

The bill's sponsors have learned from the 1971 defeat. No longer praising the destruction of the nuclear family, they go to great lengths to usurp the pro-family rhetoric of the Right. Rather than argue over whether day care is good for children, they take the line that since women must work, the Federal Government must help them raise their children. A spokesman for the House Subcommittee on Human Resources told me that hearings on the bill will "focus on individual provisions of the bill rather than on the issue as a whole." In other words, the members of Congress will not allow witnesses to question whether encouraging day care is good for children or families. "The sector that would say any federal involvement is tantamount to Communism are in smaller numbers now than in 1971," notes a smug Senate staffer, "simply because

Mrs. Marshner is Executive Editor of The Family Protection Report. *Her latest book,* Decent Exposure: How to Teach Your Children about Sex, *is just out from Wolgemuth & Hyatt.*

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more of the women who might have said that in 1971 are in the work force now."

THE ARGUMENT for ABC goes rather like this: Over half of mothers with young children work, and only 17 per cent of workers receive any form of child-care assistance from their employers. Therefore, for the welfare of children, the government must step in. "It's not that we're trying to help women work so much as making sure that when they do work there's a safe place to leave their children," said a House staffer.

All of the bill's premises are questionable. In the first place, working mothers are by no means as common as the sponsors of the bill would have you believe. Senator Tom Harkin's office, for example, claims that 70 per cent of mothers with school-age children work—raising images of sad-eyed latchkey kids abandoned by Uncle Sam. In actuality, as Douglas J. Besharov and Michelle M. Daily pointed out in *Public Opinion*, government statistics indicate that only 41 per cent of all mothers work full time and only a third of mothers with children under age six work full time. (At that, these statistics are on the high side—the government defines you as a full-time worker if you work full time for any part of the year; mothers who take a nine-to-five job in November to pay for Christmas are lumped in the same category with career women.) So, far from merely responding to the needs of the majority of mothers, federal day-care entitlements are an intrusive attempt to put the power of the Federal Government behind the lifestyle preferred by a minority. Who winds up paying for this expensive new entitlement? The majority of families, in which women choose (often at a considerable financial sacrifice) to remain their children's primary care-giver.

Oddly enough, considering the Democratic rhetoric of compassion, ABC also subsidizes the middle class at the expense of the working class. In the first place, two-income families make more money than families where mothers remain at home: in 1986, two-income families had a median income of $38,346, compared to $25,803 for two-parent, one-income families. The yuppie loophole—the rule that recipients can earn as much as 115 per cent of the state's median income—allows many of these relatively affluent

Federal day-care entitlements are an intrusive attempt to put the power of the Federal Government behind the lifestyle preferred by a minority

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families to receive federal day-care subsidies. In Massachusetts, families with incomes of up to $44,941 will be eligible; in Illinois, $39,530. The figure is $33,908 for the nation as a whole.

These middle-class families may receive the lion's share of the new funds. Again Douglas Besharov came up with the facts, this time in a March 9 *Wall Street Journal* column. "According to the Census Bureau, 31 per cent of college-educated (and thus wealthier) women with children under five use day-care centers, compared with only 15 per cent of women without a high-school diploma." The majority of the latter group rely on relatives to care for their children, usually without pay. "Few of these low-income mothers are likely to switch to center-based programs where they will have to pay a subsidized—but still significant—fee." The other great source of child care for working-class mothers? Informal, home-based day care, which will not be eligible for federal subsidy except in the unlikely event that its providers meet the stringent new licensing requirements.

There's one thing for sure: the Democratic coalition has Republicans on the run. "They're scared to death to oppose it," confided one GOP Senate staffer, whose own boss is usually an outspoken advocate of traditional family values. "They're afraid of being labeled anti-woman in their campaigns." Henry Hyde has actually co-sponsored the ABC bill, and Senator Orrin Hatch has introduced his own "pro-family" bill in the Senate. Bob Dole's campaign fact sheet cited Children's Defense Fund statistics to explain his support for federally funded day care. Among prominent Beltway conservatives, only Secretary of Education William Bennett has emerged as a full-fledged opponent of the bill; of late he has been incorporating criticism of ABC into his speeches. His chief of staff, Bill Kristol, expects the issue to be a key one in the general election.

Up to now, with few exceptions, conservative silence on the ABC bill has been deafening. And this is odd, because ABC contains something to offend every faction of the Right. Economic conservatives might be expected to raise

Is Day Care Good for Kids?

DURING THE SEVENTIES, numerous studies appeared in professional journals claiming that commercial day care was just as good for children as maternal care. Generally, these studies reached that conclusion by paying great attention to the differences between families that put their children in day-care centers and families that did not, and maintaining that those other differences, not day care itself, might account for the behavioral differences between the two groups of children.

Advocates of federal day care typically cite the Ypsilanti, Michigan, High/Scope study. That study took high-risk, poor children, put them in exhibition-quality day-care centers, and saw them avoid juvenile delinquency in higher than expected numbers. Citing studies like these to prove the virtues of the ABC bill is like saying: If hospitalization helps sick kids, think how much good it will do healthy children.

Research that finds problems with day care has been ignored or suppressed. For instance, Otto Weininger, one of Canada's premier psychologists, was for many years unable to publish in any professional journal a watershed work on the effects of day care—it finally appeared in *The Journal of Family and Culture*. "The moment a . . . scientist stumbles on evidence suggesting a potentially negative effect of day care and reports it, a host of ideologues are raising questions, criticizing methodology, mounting ad hominem attacks, or simply disregarding the data entirely in their pronouncements," wrote Jay Belsky, a highly regarded research psychologist at Pennsylvania State University who specializes in the developmental effects of day care on young children.

BELSKY periodically surveys the new research on the effects of day care. In 1984 he testified before Congress. As he took another look at the studies, he said, he found persistent patterns of undesirable effects of day care on infants. In particular, he found attachment disorders in the mother-child bond of the infants studied. Attachment is a gross measurement of emotional development; if attachment problems are present, says Dr. Craig Peery, a child-development specialist at the Department of Family Sciences at Brigham Young University, "it is almost certain that more subtle things are going on inside a child." Research has begun to reveal that infants placed in day care become more peer-oriented and less cooperative with adults than infants enjoying maternal care. "If this is true," notes Peery, ". . . the adolescent literature is perfectly clear where that leads": drugs, alcohol, teen pregnancy, suicide.

One of the few longitudinal studies of the effects of day care was done in London by Terrence Moore. He concluded that "instability of regime introduces cumulative stresses that are likely to be detrimental to personality development." Having a succession of different care-givers (and day-care centers are notorious for personnel turnover) is bad for children. By contrast, "where a mother keeps her child in her own care full time to the age of five, the child tends early to internalize adult standards of behavior, notably self-control and intellectual achievement, relative to other children of equivalent intelligence and social class." —CONNAUGHT MARSHNER

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the alarm at the prospect of a new middle-class entitlement —socialism on the creep again. Part of the explanation for apathy among the laissez-faire set is the sheer size of the federal budget, in which one more new subsidy looks like small potatoes. If we can spend $10 million on sunflowers, why not $1 to $4 billion on our nation's children? "What free-market types don't always realize is that every $10 billion misspent is not equal," notes Bill Smith, a staffer on the House Republican Study Committee. "If you spend $10 billion on research into cranberry bogs, you've just thrown it away. Spend that same $10 billion destabilizing the nation's families, and you've spent it destroying the fabric of a free society."

> Isn't the mother the optimal care-giver for children? 'Well, you can't absolutely say that in every case. It depends on the family. In abusing families . . .'

A few brave opponents of the bill have begun to counterattack. Representative Clyde Holloway (R., La.), a freshman member of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, has introduced HR-3944, the Child Care Tax Credit Reform Bill, which reforms the existing child-care tax credit, creating a partially refundable credit to all taxpayers with dependents under school age. The credit would be on a sliding scale, amounting to $400 per child for families with a gross income of less than $18,000, declining to $150 per child for families with an income of $30,000 or more.

Under Holloway's plan, a single woman with two small children could earn over $16,000 without owing income tax. Under the present child-care tax credit, she would have to hand over almost $3,000 to a child-care professional to get the same tax benefit. The biases against traditional families and working-class mothers embodied in both current law and the ABC bill would be eliminated. Mothers who care for their own children and mothers who have dependent relatives care for their children would receive the same benefits as mothers who use day care.

Another proposal, developed by Heritage Foundation policy analyst Robert Rector, and backed by an ad-hoc coalition known as Choice for Families with Children, calls for a tax credit of $750 for each child aged five or under. Low-income families would receive an earned-income credit. Rector calculates that his plan, soon to be introduced by Representative Richard Schulz (R., Pa.), will cost no more than ABC over a five-year period. "And it's more fair," Rector maintains. "After all, the Federal Government is already paying 40 per cent of the costs of day care in the United States through Title XX and Head Start."

THE ACT for Better Child Care is a classic Democratic ploy. Spend billions of taxpayer dollars buying the loyalty of special-interest groups, and declare you are engaged in a compassionate effort to help the needy.

I asked a staffer on the Senate Subcommittee on Children whether ABC is intended to help mothers or their children. "Oh, definitely the child," came the answer. Isn't the mother the optimal care-giver for children? "Well, you can't absolutely say that in every case. It depends on the family. In abusing families . . ." Okay, but apart from those cases, isn't maternal care best? "Well, not if the mother not working creates economic stress . . ." Eventually, the staffer conceded that mom is best in principle, but quickly added: "The economic reality for a majority of mothers is such that it doesn't allow them to care for their own children." Well, if a mother's care is best, what steps is Senator Dodd taking to make it available for the greatest number of children? The staffer promised to get an answer from Senator Dodd for NATIONAL REVIEW.

I'm still waiting. □

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AN OPEN LETTER TO ORRIN HATCH

GEORGE GILDER

DEAR SENATOR HATCH:

For over a decade you have been the most stalwart friend of the family in the U.S. Senate. You have been subjected to fierce pressures and suffered ugly religious smears. You have ignored the orchestrated chorus of the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, the news magazines, and the networks, and upheld the sanctity of marriage. You conducted a series of Senate hearings that brought the case against the unisex Equal Rights Amendment to the public, and you were second only to Phyllis Schlafly in achieving its final defeat. While most other conservative senators cowered in their offices surrounded by feminist aides, you again and again have bravely made the case for sexual sanity in an America sinking into a slough of family breakdown and subsidized moral decay.

On all points you have been entirely vindicated. Your belief that only traditional families could be relied on to raise children into responsible adults finds confirmation in the chaos of female-headed families in the ghetto, mired in poverty and assailed by waves of crime. Your skepticism toward government programs designed to "help families" is vindicated by the epidemic of broken families we witness amid the proliferating government programs of this nation's cities and of the semi-socialist welfare states of Western Europe.

In particular, your long-standing doubts about government-funded day care have been vindicated by scores of studies that show the damage to children in public institutions and by spreading scandals in existing day-care centers. Of course, day-care advocates can (and do) point to a few extraordinary cases where expensive facilities help a few troubled children. But a massive federal program will necessarily be manned by mediocrities.

Senator Hatch, you know about the chaos in Sweden where the proliferation of government "family policies" has not halted a steady increase in child abandonment and a steady decrease in numbers of children—to a point where the birth rate is now less than 60 per cent of the population-replacement level. You know that the steady enlargement of child-care responsibilities assumed by the Swedish state has led to an ever more rapid repudiation of child-care responsibilities by families—to the point that now more than 50 per cent of Swedish children are born out of wedlock.

You remember Midge Decter's ringing testimony before your committee: "For a generation now, millions and millions of Americans—I will not say all—have been engaging in child sacrifice. Less bloodily, perhaps, but no less obediently than certain ancient groups of idol worshippers, we have been offering up our children on the altar of a pitiless god . . . In our case, the idol to whom we have sacrificed our young is not made of wood or gold but of an idea. This idea, very crudely put, is that we are living in an altogether new world with not yet fully understood new moral rules . . . [in which] we have no right to cling to or impose on others outmoded standards of behavior. . . . Out of historic error, out of sloth, out of cowardice, out of lack of collective will, we are permitting ourselves to become a society that punishes the virtuous. That punishment is every day being incorporated into the laws of the land, written and unwritten."

NOW YOU, Orrin Hatch, seem ready to join this strange cult of child sacrifice. You seem ready to capitulate to its central demand: that the state exalt the full-time working mother above the mother who cares for her children at home—that the state financially punish the traditional mother by making her subsidize the mother who assigns her children to state-approved day care. There is no further demand that matters from the forces of family breakdown in America. That is the beginning and end of it. If you give in on that one point, all your previous struggles will go for nought.

Amid the general rout of conservatism in the final months of the Reagan Administration, your surrender on day care is the single most shocking event. You want traditional families to provide money to promote child abandonment by other families under siege. You want "seed money" for community centers and tax incentives for workplace care; you want to attack existing day-care provisions by giving "federal assistance for setting state standards," which will merely mean that only taxpayer-funded institutions will be able to afford the paperwork and the credentialism.

Finally, you declare that a compromise with Senators Christopher Dodd and Edward Kennedy—both long be-

Mr. Gilder is the author of Men and Marriage. *His new book,* Microcosm, *will be published later this year by Simon & Schuster.*

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loved by every organization of the unisex child-abuse lobby—will be your "number-one legislative priority." Thus you concede that your own proposal of $375 million in the first year is only a round-heeled first step on a legislative slope oiled by pro-family sanctimony and deceptive public-opinion polls. As Assar Lindbeck, the leading Swedish economist, has observed, the result of such programs is to bring the state increasingly into the domain of child care, which it cannot perform, while steadily eroding the financial ability of working-class families to raise children themselves.

For your rationale, you accept the familiar claim of all child abusers—that they couldn't help it. In this case, that the mothers had no choice: they had to work. "It's preferable to have parents raise the children in the home," you concede, before adding a craven "but . . ." Then you turn to the old alibi that "with 54 per cent of women working, it's apparent that no one is in the home."

The fact is, however, that the vast majority of mothers today put their families first and work, if they must work, part-time or in the home. As of 1984 only 29 per cent of married women held full-time, year-round jobs (including teaching jobs); on average, wives supplied only 18.6 per cent of their families' incomes. Women continue to vote with their feet against full-time careers. In fact, the more credentials and qualifications (and therefore options) mothers have, the less fully they will exploit them and the more likely they are to prefer part-time work.

> The more credentials and qualifications mothers have, the less fully they will exploit them and the more likely they are to prefer part-time work

The most comprehensive analysis of this issue was conducted in the mid Seventies by the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin. Even stipulating substantial discrimination against women, researchers found that while single men and single women exploit their earning capacity almost equally, married men exploit their earning capacity at nearly three times the rate of married women (87 per cent for married men of working age versus 33 per cent for married women). Women with the best credentials—the top 10 per cent in earning capacity—exploited their earning powers at only about one-fourth the rate of similarly qualified men. The higher the salary a married woman could potentially command, the less likely she was to work full-time, year-round. More recent data show no significant change in this pattern.

In the real world, data on the work force overwhelmingly indicate that working women prefer to work intermittently or seasonally, or to work in the home, and that they prefer to make neighborhood or familial arrangements when they do require someone to care for their children. This pattern of working behavior by women does not represent a revolutionary change in family structure. It is a reflection of the existing familial order that expanded federal day-care programs will steadily and inevitably erode.

The social-work bureaucracy resents women who take prime responsibility for their children. It wants to declare their provisions inadequate and wants to tax their families to finance women who wish to raise children without marrying the fathers. With the support of the National Education Association, the child-care bureaucracy wishes to make child care a professional role and thus increasingly difficult for ordinary families to provide.

But no government program in the world, however expensive, can make up for the economic and emotional disaster of the father's departure. No day-care program can enable most single women to both raise their children successfully and earn incomes above the poverty level. In most cases, female-headed families cannot even begin to discipline teenaged boys or provide role models for them; in many families that I have interviewed, the mothers are actually afraid of their teenaged sons. But by solving the immediate problem of where to park the kids, government day care creates an illusion that families may break down with impunity. The children will come back and punish the society soon enough.

Effective executives, says Peter Drucker, don't solve problems; they pursue opportunities. The broken families of America constitute an insoluble problem that can absorb unlimited funds and efforts and provide a pretext for unlimited expansion of government. The current welfare programs already do all that the state can do to provide minimal care; any enrichment of these programs with job training and day care will further accelerate family breakdown. With every new initiative by the state, the problem will grow inevitably worse and demand ever more extreme government action.

As Jack Kemp says, "If you want more of something,

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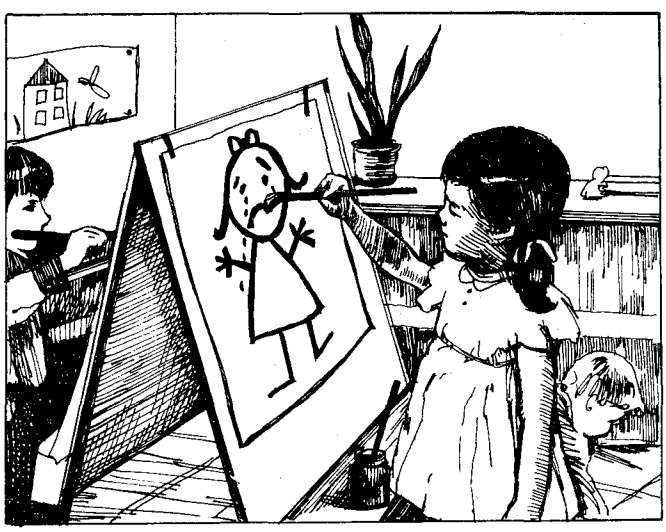
subsidize it; if you want less, tax it." The day-care bill will tax families that care for their own children in order to subsidize families that place their children in another's care. The more the state subsidizes the breakdown of family responsibilities, the more families will break down. But there is simply no way on earth for government to supply the love and attention and self-sacrifice that mothers spontaneously offer their children. There are not enough resources on this entire planet to raise a new generation of civilized children if mothers defect. Every government day-care center represents an irretrievable net loss for children.

> Senators Kennedy and Dodd won't like this. They do not want money for child care. They want money for the NEA and the child-care bureaucracy

The current day-care mania, however, does provide a major political opportunity. For decades the tax burden has been shifting from single people and families without children onto families with children. The child deduction for federal income tax would be worth some $6,000 today (rather than $2,000) if it had risen apace with inflation and incomes, not to mention educational costs, since 1950. Whenever the Democrats demand support for children outside the home, the Republicans must demand support for children in the home as well.

Senator Hatch, your response to your new Democratic friends should be: "Fine, Teddy and Chris, you want money to care for children. Great. But the bulk of children are in families. Give all families tax deductions and credits or child allowances as you wish. Give all mothers money for child care. But every payment for a day-care center must be compensated by an equal outlay for mothers in the home. Let the mothers decide whether to buy day care or not."

Senators Kennedy and Dodd won't like this. They do not want money for child care, which is urgently needed by the families of America. Instead they want money for the NEA and the child-care bureaucracy, which are a menace to the nation's families. They do not want to help families meet the increasing costs of raising children; they want to ratify the female-headed family as the norm in America. They do not want to subsidize families; they want to subsidize feminism.



Kimanne Uhler

When mothers are looking for someone to care for their children, a high proportion of the people they voluntarily choose have always been immigrants. Around the world potential immigrants are literally dying to come here and assist American women with their children, cheaply and well. If child-care assistance, rather than buying off special-interest groups, were the senators' prime goal, they would do well to promote new immigration. Instead, they support laws attempting to bring existing immigrants under the heel of the welfare state and to trap Asian women at airports to prevent them from relieving the so-called child-care crisis. While Vietnamese still die in boats off the coast of Thailand and Mexicans swim the Rio Grande, the Senate wants to seal off low-wage jobs by means of higher minimum wages and to bring child care into the regulated domain of the state.

THE STABLE FAMILIES of America both sustain the American economy and produce virtually all the country's productive new citizens (most of the rest are immigrants from stable families overseas). The child-free families of today are the freeloaders on Social Security tomorrow, for they have failed to produce the next generation of workers to support them in their old age. The female-headed families of today create an unending chain of burdens for tomorrow as their children disrupt classrooms, fill the jails, throng the welfare rolls, and gather as bitter petitioners and leftist agitators seeking to capture for themselves the bounty produced by stable families.

There is no doubt that American competitiveness suffers more from the declining quality of American family life and resulting deterioration of school performance than from any other factor. But we have no trouble competing with the European welfare states. Throughout this decade, they have been losing nearly 2 per cent of their jobs annually, have suffered declining investment and shrinking economies, and have been slipping steadily further behind in the key technologies of the information age. The competitors who give trouble to American firms come from the patriarchal family structures of Asia where women take care of their children, and where schools teach physics and calculus rather than sex education and Indian rights.

Liberal Democratic politics today is chiefly a conspiracy of parasites against the society's productive citizens and families. There is no way to compromise with this force of self-destruction in the middle of Western culture. There is no homeopathic cure for socialism, no vaccination against moral decay. A visit to the welfare states of Western Europe will give ample evidence to anyone unconvinced by the stagnation and collapse of Eastern Europe and the socialist Third World. As analysts around the world are increasingly coming to recognize, socialism is the death wish of Western civilization. Senator Hatch, I implore you, choose life. □

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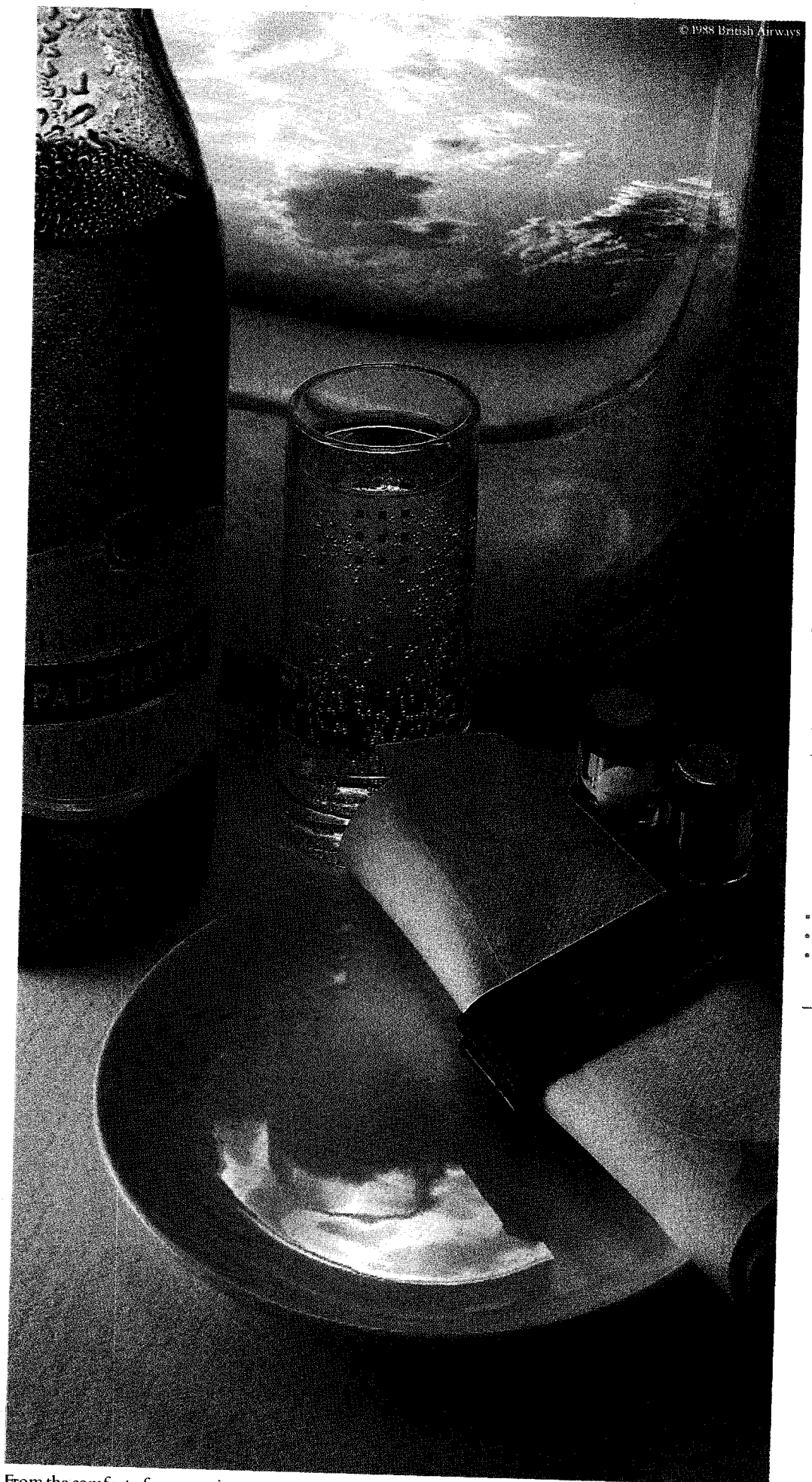

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REAGAN & THATCHER: THE BALANCE SHEET

LOOK HERE upon this picture and on this. While, in Washington, an apparently enfeebled Ronald Reagan presides over a beleaguered Administration, Margaret Thatcher in London dominates a remarkably homogeneous government which, although of course vulnerable to chance, change, and folly, remains for the moment in almost complete control of the political field. Just as there have always been interesting similarities between these two ostensibly conservative regimes, so the difference in their positions now may be worth examining.

Some of the difference flows from purely external or structural factors. The lamentable spectacle of America's politicians struggling and haggling, at a moment of great urgency, to trim the budget deficit, and coming up with so little after so long, could not occur in Britain in that way, simply for constitutional reasons. Since the party in power normally has control of the House of Commons, this kind of log jam is not possible. Any equivalent argument would take place within the Cabinet, where a strong prime minister could quickly resolve it, if necessary at the cost of a few resignations.

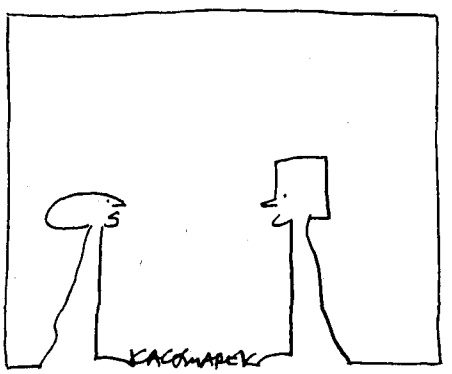
But there are other reasons too. "Thatcherism" (whatever, precisely, that may mean) has triumphed to such an extent that the terms of the economic debate have changed. Even Labour and Liberal Party spokesmen now make reluctant concessions to the merits of a market economy and of wealth-creation. A few years ago 364 professional economists put their names to a haughty declaration that Mrs. Thatcher's policies could never achieve sustained economic growth: they have been proved spectacularly wrong. The leftward half of the British political spectrum is in amazing disarray, striving to discover new intellectual foundations for traditional and emotional commitments.

It is hardly conceivable that anyone, except a dedicated ideological socialist, really wishes the Labour Party had won the last election and was now in charge of Britain's economic destiny, or that the Liberal/Social Democratic Alliance had won and was in charge. As the skies darken, "always keep a-hold of Nurse, for fear of finding something worse" must be the generally acknowledged motto. Mrs. Thatcher's firm grasp is a great comfort.

Within the Conservative Party the perennial dispute between would-be spenders and would-be tax-cutters inevitably continues. This division between spenders and tax-cutters, inflationists and monetarists, "wets" and "drys," has been the chief political issue of recent years. Mrs. Thatcher's predecessor, Edward Heath, who is still bitter at having been ousted, represents a "wet" faction among Conservatives, very much like the Republican establishment of pre-Reaganite days.

But Mrs. Thatcher, unlike Mr. Reagan, has increasingly consolidated her personal grip and the grip of her ideas on the government and the party. She is far from winning all the battles: she has not, in fact, been able to reduce public spending, only its rate of growth: but she has swept all her opponents out of the Cabinet and made poor Mr. Heath seem a pathetic figure.

Although strong-willed and bossy, she is tactically quite cautious, and has never tried to do more than she felt certain she could. In her administration, as in every other administration, the ministers in charge of spending departments want to spend more (because that's how they become popular and their officials powerful), while the Treasury ministers want to curb them. A special Cabinet committee, jocularly known as the "Star Chamber," has been periodically convened to adjudicate. Every time public spending is cut, or not increased, there are howls of indignation from the media, particularly from the BBC, where the interviewers seem all to have been at a training-school that taught them to ask in chorus: "And how much more should the government spend?"



"Blockhead—you're the one they call blockhead, right?"

DESPITE these permanent pressures a kind of consensus has been, if only temporarily, achieved. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Nigel Lawson, is clever, arrogant, and tough, and almost entirely in agreement with Mrs. Thatcher's principles. The London stock market cannot be isolated from Wall Street or Tokyo, and a new depression would certainly not leave Britain unscarred: but the plain fact is, although the Labour Party would deny it, that eight years of "Thatcherism" have put the British economy in pretty good shape to withstand the gales now blowing around the world. There is virtually no budget deficit, only moderate (by modern standards) inflation, satisfactory growth, and renewed industrial confidence. Un-

(Continues on page 64)

Mr. Lejeune is NR*'s longtime London correspondent and the author of, most recently, the novel* Strange and Private War.

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"Still–in a way–nobody sees a flower–really–
it is so small–we haven't time–
and to see takes time, like to have a friend takes time."
—Georgia O'Keeffe

Red Poppy, 1927 *Oil on canvas 7" × 9", Private collection, Geneva*

Photography by Malcolm Varon

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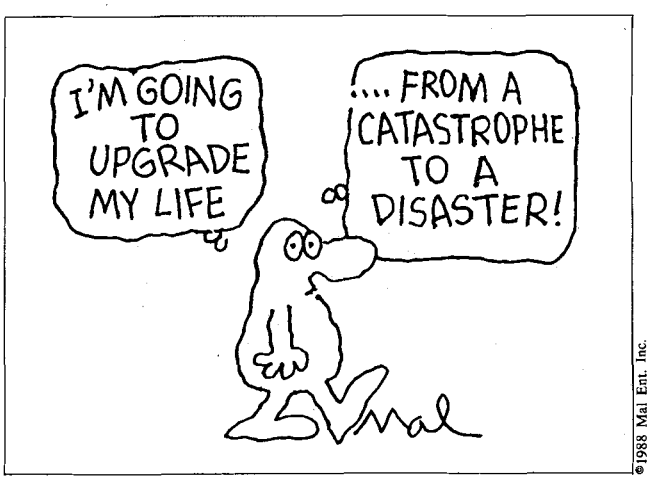
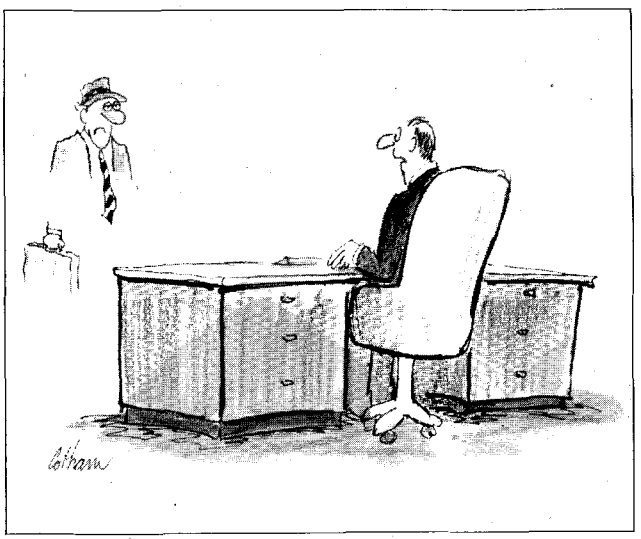


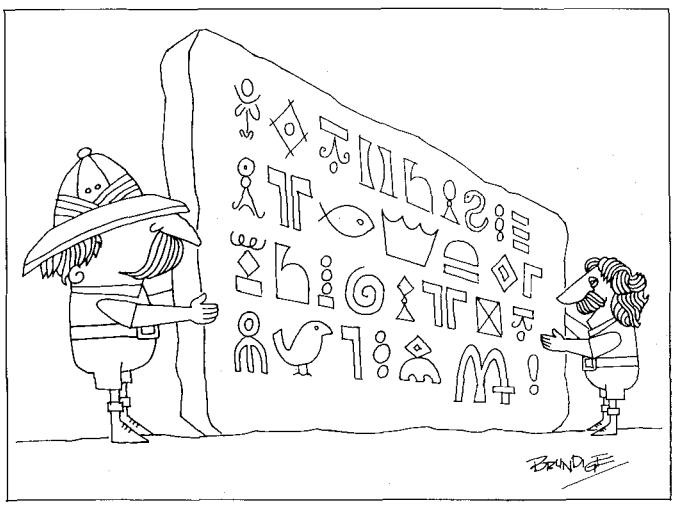
Prayer to an Automatic Sprinkler

Sprinkle, sprinkle, little spray,
Soak the scenery.
Make of weed and hole and hay
Emerald greenery.
Corners where I've tucked the seed in,
Color verdant, lush as Eden.
Otherwise—and here's the rub—
I can't join the Garden Club!

MAUREEN CANNON



"That's the worst case of jet lag I've ever seen!"



"Egad, Professor Leakey, I think we have unearthed the first Chicken McNuggets advertisement!"

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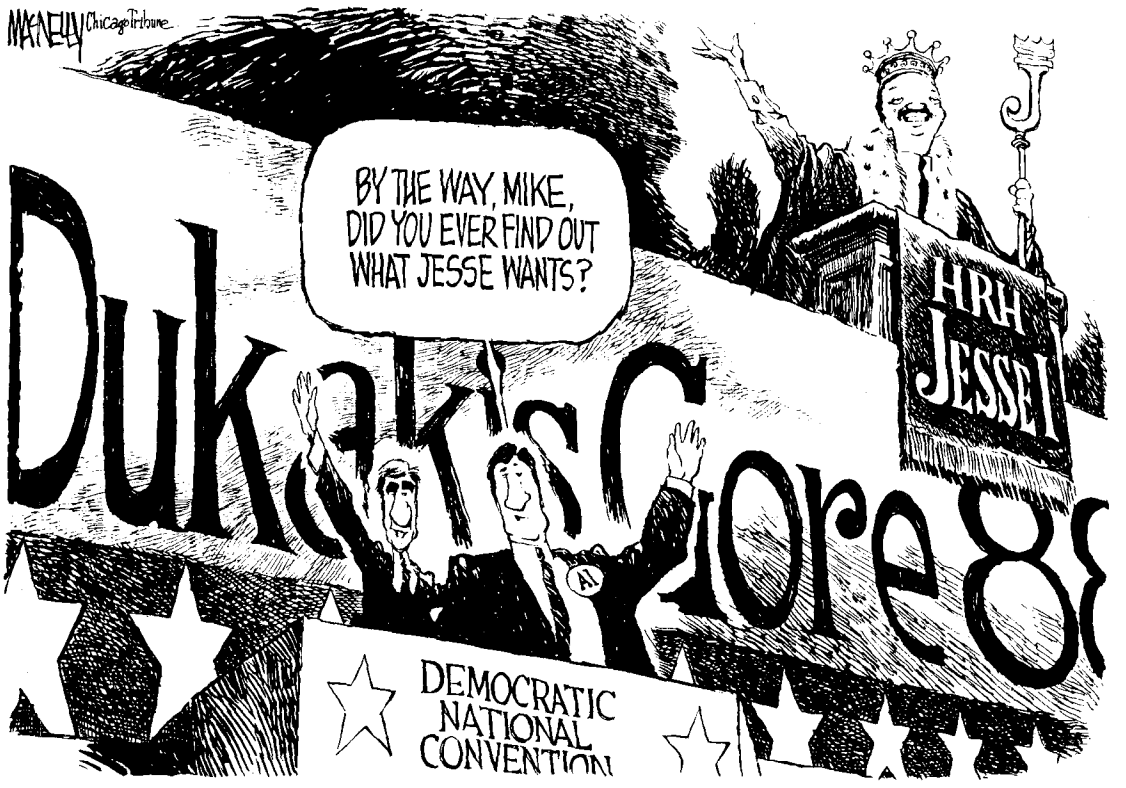
MACNELLY Chicago Tribune
BY THE WAY, MIKE, DID YOU EVER FIND OUT WHAT JESSE WANTS?
HRH JESSE I
Dukakis Core 88
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

"THAT'S HIM, OFFICER! THAT'S THE ONE I SAW MOVING TROOPS INTO HONDURAS!"

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EDUCATING IGOR

KOMSOMOL, the youth wing of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has lost three million members since 1985. On January 24, 1988, *Pravda* complained of a growing interest among young people in "abstract pacifism." Senior Soviet military officials writing in *Red Star* (May 7, 1987) are nervous about the increasing influence of Western music, styles, and fads, leading some young people to "parasitic dispositions." Igor Mikhailovich Ilinsky, a director of Komsomol, writes in *Kommunist* (No. 6, 1987) that "the number of young people displaying political naïveté, lack of interest in politics, nihilistic views of the future, and loss of clear class vision in the assessment of phenomena and events in social reality, has increased noticeably." Has the counterculture finally hit Moscow?

The Kremlin is expressing more than a passing interest in these developments. Soviet officials place a great deal of emphasis on young people's attitudes as they strive to perpetuate Soviet rule into the next century. Thus Ilinsky writes: "This world of tomorrow will be largely the way young people conceive of it today . . . For it is through the young generations that society reproduces itself biologically and socially."

Soviet youth policy for the past twenty years has been defined by a program little known in the West. The Soviets call it "military-patriotic education": paramilitary summer camps plus mandatory classroom courses. By the time the average Soviet youth graduates from high school he will have gone through more than 180 hours of military training in the classroom. Schools employ more than fifty thousand military officials to teach Soviet children how to assemble, field-strip, and fire an AK-47 assault rifle, fire anti-tank weapons, handle explosives and grenades, build tank traps and other fortifications, and protect themselves from chemical attack. During the last two years of high school, graduates spend more time on military courses than on social studies, nature studies, music, and art combined.

Military-patriotic education began in 1967-68, as a partial substitute for long years of universal military service. At that time, Soviet industry had begun to suffer from chronic manpower shortages, and mandatory military service was reduced from two years to one for those serving in the ground forces, and from three to two for naval forces. Military-patriotic education programs, by partially training Soviet youths before they entered the military, were supposed to reduce the amount of training that new conscripts would need. However, the Kremlin now sees the program as an important propaganda initiative, by which Soviet youth can be imbued with "a fighting spirit" that will perpetuate Soviet rule.

Since Gorbachev's accession, military education for Soviet youth has been criticized, but not for being too militaristic. Instead, critics say, the current program is too soft. As a result, the Kremlin is intensifying its efforts to militarize Soviet youth, as part of Gorbachev's *perestroika* ("restructuring"), the very program that many in the West say will make the Soviets more "peaceable."

In June 1986, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Council of Ministers passed a decree entitled "On Further Improving Party Supervision of the Komsomol and Enhancing Its Role in the Communist Indoctrination of Youth," which emphasized "the importance of military-patriotic indoctrination of youth and of their preparedness to perform feats to defend the homeland." The decree "poses the task of raising such preparation to a higher qualitative level . . ."

Soviet officials hope both to instill military values in Soviet youth and to teach them military skills more thoroughly, both inside and outside the classroom. With the decree, writes General M. Popkov in *Red Star* (May 7, 1987), "we have everything we need in order to intensify military-patriotic education." And changes are already beginning to occur. For example, *Red Star* on January 18, 1987, had reported that many of the military instructors assigned to the classroom had never seen actual combat and were often of lower rank. But by May 7, it was able to report that in Moscow 10 per cent of the instructors had already been replaced by "more qualified specialists."

Early Start

OTHER "improvements" under consideration include spending greater amounts of classroom time on military subjects, training children at younger ages, and militarizing other course subjects. On August 5, 1986, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* reported that the army was considering introducing Soviet children to "applied military and technical training as early as kindergarten in the form of interesting games and paramilitary contests," noting that similar programs in East Germany have proven "successful." On October 22, 1987, *Red Star* said that serious consideration should be given to "physical-education classes with a military thrust." And on October 23, the same publication stressed that "even mathematics" should be imbued with military themes.

More and better military equipment for schools is also in the works. The current feeling is that not enough chil-

Mr. Schweizer is a national-security-policy analyst at the National Forum Foundation in Washington, D.C., and the co-author of The Soviet Concepts of Peace, Peaceful Coexistence, and Détente *(University Press of America, 1988).*

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dren have had access to such paramilitary facilities. So according to *Red Star* (January 18, 1987), the Kremlin has authorized construction of new firing ranges at many schools that previously had gone without them. And *Za Rulem* (November 1986) reported that for the first time children "will participate in exercises with submachine guns using live ammunition." By now more than 50 per cent of Soviet schools have their own firing ranges. Students are encouraged to win such awards as "Young Rifleman" and "Sharpshooter."

Outside the classroom, military-patriotic education also includes a series of chillingly realistic summer paramilitary camps. David Powell of the Harvard Russian Research Center has estimated that some thirty million youngsters participate every year.

Zarnitsa ("Summer Lightning") attempts to introduce children aged seven to 14 to mock combat and basic military skills. In a heavily militarized version of capture-the-flag, *Zarnitsa* teaches children the basics of small-unit combat, reconnaissance, and methods of interrogation. One of the few Westerners who has witnessed these games tells of a Soviet child who had revealed the location of her detachment's flag after "torture" (her arm was twisted). A typical Soviet account of *Zarnitsa* appeared in *Akhazgazrda Kommunisti* (June 24, 1986). At "0600" the children were "in formation, in full array, and ready to move out. The exercise was very realistic, with plenty of smoke and explosions —even chemical weapons—and the treacherous enemy was beaten back within the hour." The paper also reported that the residents of nearby Dusheti were "startled out of sleep" by the noise.

Once they have successfully completed the *Zarnitsa* course, graduates can proudly display the official badge: a red star in a triangle clustered with an upward-pointing arrow, crossed by a bayonet.

Orlenok ("Little Eagle"), designed for 14- to 18-year-olds, is even more realistic. Besides polishing their skills in marksmanship and explosives, campers learn how to erect fortifications, engage in large-scale assault operations, and treat "wounded comrades." The games are highly competitive, and winning teams gain great prestige.

Perhaps what the Soviets are really groping for is a means by which restless youth can be imbued with greater loyalty to the state. Promoting martial values in children at an early age could do this in two ways. First, such values place supreme importance on duty and discipline (read: more obedience to the state). Second, this effort may also be a signal to the Soviet populace that in the broader picture, the struggle with the West is not yet over. Despite rhetoric about "peace" and a "world without wars" (directed at the West), military-patriotic education says that not much has changed. Even with the INF agreement, increasing exchanges, and softer language, "vigilance" must be maintained.

War in Peace

IN BROADER TERMS, the intensification of military-patriotic education may be the Soviet leaders' best chance to maintain their grip on the Russian people. With the failure of the Soviet economic system to manufacture prosperity and the inability of the state to manufacture the New Soviet Man, a "war culture" designed to promote xenophobia and autarchy is perhaps the only fulcrum upon which they can hope to move the Soviet people. ❑

Sinusitis

All hearts are at one in the springtime,
When beauty and joy give no quarter;
Birds, bees, youths and maids, in their flingtime,
Do as they were told by Cole Porter.
The dogwood's shy scent softly mingles
With the shameless rich musk of the rose,
While your poor anatomy tingles
With the richness that flows from your nose.

Love and pollen are in the air—
Sneeze and sniffle and snort and swear.
More fearsome than flu or laryngitis
Is the sniveling, leveling sinusitis.

The wine is the best California,
The spices the pride of the East;
The reason your mother has borne ya
Is that you might enjoy such a feast.
The turkey is bronzed with its basting,
The strawberries scarlet and cool.
What matter that everything's tasting
Remarkably like cotton wool?

Choose any culinary gem;
Try and taste it beneath the phlegm.
Every morsel would only bloat us,
So should we be thankful for sinusoatus?

You're muttering, mad, misanthropic—
Your nostrils are clustered with bubbles.
Say those into whose houses you drop: "ICK!
It's going to tell us its troubles!"
Good night to those finicky ladies
Who find it demeaning to kiss you
Good-bye, and return to your Hades
To answer the call of the tissue.

In horror you see your life deflated;
Your septum and soul have deviated.
As every Caesar must have his Brutus,
So you are betrayed by sinusutus.

—MILES DAVID MOORE

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SCUBA DIVING IN THE CESSPOOL

WHEN Bill Buckley published *God and Man at Yale* in 1951, he didn't realize how good things were. Yes, indeed, there was a pervasive New Deal bias at Yale and other universities, plus what amounted to an agnostic orthodoxy, all of which he abundantly documented. Sophisticated academics yawned between cries of pseudo-outrage. The views Buckley attributed to them were exactly what they believed. The only surprise was that Buckley was surprised.

But before long, things went precipitously downhill. In 1951, after all, Yale's English Department was—with the possible exception of Columbia's—the best in the nation. Yale offered solid courses in history, languages, and much else, had real requirements, and, perhaps most importantly, observed norms of civilized behavior. As Buckley observed in his obituary notice of Professor Thomas Bergin, the man was a liberal but not a fanatic. He was a Dante scholar, a gentleman, and his last book was a history of the Harvard-Yale football rivalry.

God and Man at Yale, in retrospect, documented the Silver Age of the American university. Today we occupy a different era altogether. I will provide a bit of documentation culled from the mail this column attracts.

1. "Congratulations," writes a fine poet. "As you know, I was driven from [X] University, forced to take early retirement, by the same coalition of 'victims' we know too well. My chairman subsequently died of AIDS."

2. "I am a young (28) lecturer in political science at a large state university, and I chanced on the opportunity to teach a senior-level course in 'Democratic Theory' this semester. In the first week of the term, a senior colleague in the department stopped me in the hall to ask what was on my reading list. I told him: selections from Aristotle's *Politics*; Locke's *Second Treatise*; the *Federalist*; speeches of Lincoln and FDR; and Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. Maybe a bit heavy on the American stuff, but it's my specialty, and America is the prototype of a successful liberal democracy. But my colleague's reply is the point of the story: 'Oh, then you're not doing any democratic theory . . . ?' I was speechless for a moment, and only the instinct for self-preservation kept me from asking, If that's not democratic theory, what is? 'I mean,' he continued, 'you're not doing anything on procedural theory?'—which I could only take to mean some of the derivative but oh-so-current stuff spewing from the pens of scholars who never confronted or have forgotten the authors on my reading list. 'No, no, nothing so modern,' I replied, and ducked into my office."

3. And now back to Yale. "Great familiarity breeds great contempt," writes the mother of a young woman. "That seems to be the impact of the 'experiment' encouraging sexual diversity at Yale. My contribution to the Class of '91 is a brilliant heterosexual female. Her residential college assignment is to a suite of six girls with various economic, geographic, sexual, and cultural backgrounds. Two of her five suitemates appear to be heterosexual, and three are clearly not. Two of the latter are lovers. My daughter shares a bedroom with one of the lovers, a maladjusted Yale legacy with no discernible course in life. The lesbian roommate's lustful leering is repulsive to my daughter. The campus is inundated with militant homosexuals, posting obscene posters and practicing obscene behavior everywhere. The tolerant young lady of last year, who never considered sexual orientation to be a criterion in choosing friends ('After all,' she once said, 'if I'm not going to have sex with them, why should I care about their preferences and partners?'), has become a militant homophobe—and who can blame her?

"I do not want my child subjected to institutionalized intimacy with anyone who has sexual designs upon her person. Most parents, and most potential Yale students, share my attitude. Had the school inadvertently assigned my daughter rooms with a heterosexual male with a strong libido and a healthy ego, it would have quickly recognized and rectified its error. Instead, Yale is so busy respecting and protecting the rights of its gays and lesbians that it has (inadvertently?) totally neglected the rights of its heterosexuals."

4. In a widely noticed case, Dartmouth recently imposed draconian penalties upon four staff members of *The Dartmouth Review*. They had "attacked" a black music professor by printing a transcript of an incoherent lecture of his and, later, confronting him and requesting a reply. Two of the students were suspended for a year and a half. Not long ago, protestors against South Africa occupied the Dartmouth administration building. No penalties followed. Soon thereafter some of the protestors scuffled with local police. Again, no action. Then more protestors occupied the library tower. Snore. Then militant feminists in ski masks flung bloody-looking tampons at the college president. No disciplinary action was taken.

IT IS worth discussing whether the university today is consciously or merely inadvertently the site of anti-civilized behavior. However one answers that question, nothing can be clearer than that a principal task before us, as we approach the end of the millennium, will be the reconstruction of our higher education, starting virtually from scratch.

To proclaim, "For God, for Country, and for Yale" might have been anticlimactic enough in 1951. Today it's a total fraud. □

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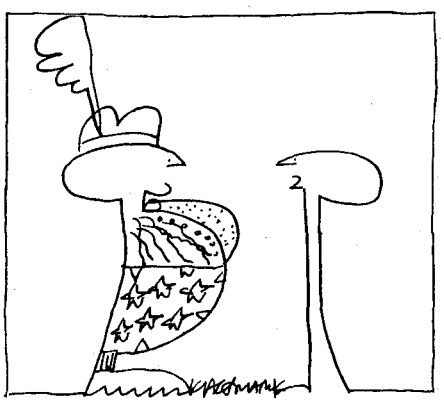
THE PFEFFERIAN INVERSION

Leo Pfeffer, now rich in years and honors, has done more than anyone else to shape the law regarding religion and the state in America. School prayer, religious symbols in the classroom, aid to parochial schools —for forty years he has argued against them all before the Supreme Court and, more often than not, he has won. In a recent memoir, Pfeffer describes himself as an "absolutist for strict separationism." For him, the "wall of separation" between church and state can never be high enough. He knows that being an absolutist is an extreme position, but his idea of democracy is that absolutists on one side contend against absolutists on the other, and somehow something like justice emerges from the battle. Looking back, he seems puzzled that the absolutists on "the religious side" just weren't there when they should have been. Again and again, his absolutism prevailed, as though by default.

Leo Pfeffer is not against religion. He is regularly to be found in synagogue. But for him religion is an exclusively private thing: what he is against is religion in public. But with the expansion of the modern state "public" and "governmental" are increasingly interchangeable. Therefore it is increasingly possible to construe the separation of church and state as the separation of religion from public life. As the government increasingly absorbs all public space, and a good deal of private space, religion gets squeezed into an ever tighter corner of privacy. In recent years we have witnessed a new assertiveness of religion in public. For example, the Religious Right and the Roman Catholic bishops' pastoral letters have attracted widespread and often worried attention. Religion is struggling to get out of the corner in which it has been confined by Court rulings and by habits of mind that were, in large part, crafted by the formidable Leo Pfeffer.

Pfeffer sold the Court, important sectors of religious leadership, and almost the entirety of "enlightened" public opinion on one key idea. That idea might be called the Pfefferian Inversion of the First Amendment. Recall what the First Amendment says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The record leaves no doubt that the Framers were concerned for religious freedom, including the freedom of conscience. They were adamant in their belief that the national government had no business messing with that freedom. One way the government might mess with it is by establishing one religion over others. The proscription of such establishment is designed to protect religious freedom. "Free exercise" of religion is the goal; "no establishment" is one important instrument in the service of that goal.

Now comes the Pfefferian Inversion. (Admittedly, he did not do it singlehandedly, and there were precedents on which he built.) Instead of a two-part religion clause ("no establishment" and "free exercise"), it was urged that there were two religion clauses, and they had somehow to be "balanced" one against the other. This ignored the fact that the two parts of the clause do not work against each other; "no establishment" is in the service of "free exercise." The inversion was completed when lawyers became accustomed to talking about the religion clause as "the establishment clause." Thus the means ("no establishment") is given priority over the end ("free exercise"). An extreme expression of this inversion is to be found in the much used treatise on constitutional law by Laurence Tribe of Harvard. Professor Tribe writes that there is a "zone which the free-exercise clause carves out of the establishment clause for permissible accommodation of religious interests. This carved-out area might be characterized as the *zone of permissible accommodation*." One doubts if the Framers would be grateful to Professor Tribe for his gracious allowance of a "zone of permissible accommodation" for what was their entire purpose in the first place—the free exercise of religion.



"I've never been to Miami."

Once we identify the Pfefferian Inversion, the Court decisions of the last forty years become easier to understand. The premise is that any government involvement in or support for religion violates the "no-establishment clause." Therefore everything that government touches must be free of religion. And, of course, government increasingly touches everything. One consequence among many is that religious social agencies and colleges have in many cases traded their religious identities for governmental dollars. It is their shame that they did so; it is a great injustice that they were required to do so. Here and elsewhere, the Pfefferian Inversion has supported a government-imposed conformity against the genuine pluralism, including the religious pluralism, of our society. It is time to reassert the elementary truth that the purpose of the religion clause of the First Amendment is to protect, not prohibit, the free exercise of religion. □

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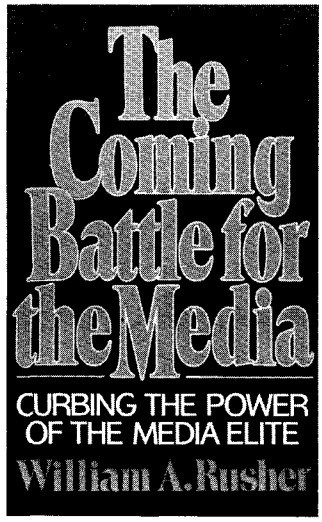
William Rusher



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PHRONESIS, PRUDENTIA, JUSTICE

Thomas Fleming

Whose Justice? Which Rationality? by Alasdair MacIntyre (Notre Dame, 432 pp., $22.95)

SINCE BEFORE the eighteenth century, the most influential writers on ethics have agreed to hold certain truths to be self-evident. Many of these truths are stated in our own Declaration of Independence, among them that human beings are naturally equal and endowed with certain rights, and that the state's authority rests upon the consent of the governed. The more fundamental doctrines are only implied in the classic texts of Jefferson and Rousseau, Hobbes and Locke, Kant and Mill, who took it for granted that all political questions could be reduced to two fundamental units of analysis: the individual and the state. Because the methods are as abstract as geometry and as universal as the law of gravity, this system of thought—which goes by the name of liberalism—can be applied to any circumstance. Such details as race, religion, kinship, ethnic origin, and cultural tradition are seen as, at best, peripheral concerns.

Liberalism is *the* philosophical tradition of modern times, and as Alasdair MacIntyre observes in his latest and most ambitious book, "the contemporary debates within modern political systems are almost exclusively between conservative liberals, liberal liberals, and radical liberals." Of course, liberals have refused to recognize that they are, in fact, working within an historically limited tradition, a tradition with no more obvious claim to our allegiance than, say, neo-Thomism.

MacIntyre devotes most of this book to case studies of specific ethical traditions, and he provides extensive treatment of Homer, the age of Pericles, Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Lord Stair, Francis Hutcheson, and David Hume. The aim of this exhaustive search is to determine the connection between practical reasoning (what the ancients called *phronesis* and *prudentia*) and the conceptions of justice that evolved within each tradition.

The point is, very simply, this: liberals claim that their own style of abstract rationality allows them to adopt the position of a disinterested umpire in moral conflicts; even when their own interests are engaged, they pretend to act like a Cabinet official with a blind trust. In fact, as MacIntyre quite clearly demonstrates, the rationality of liberals is only one among many methods of moral reasoning, one that presupposes the whole body of liberal theory.

No brief review can do justice to the learning and deliberation that has gone into this book. The discussions of Aristotle, Hume, and Hutcheson could serve as introductions to those authors. The treatments of Homer and Pericles, while they will not satisfy every scholar, are lucid and often original. However, the real hero of MacIntyre's narrative is Aristotle, who emerges as an original but faithful heir of Plato.

MacIntyre insists that we must learn to accept philosophical traditions on their own terms, and in his final chapters he has hard words for the liberal generalizers and ideologues who hawk values and traditions like so many rags and bones. He has the philosopher's contempt for cant, a contempt that sometimes spills over into downright rancor against the "self-proclaimed contemporary conservatives" who celebrate "that unfortunate fictitious amalgam sometimes known as 'the Judaeo-Christian tradition' and sometimes as 'Western values.'"

It is just this sort of abstract universalism, according to MacIntyre, that has proved the undoing of those great liberal institutions, the modern universities. By abolishing religious tests, universities did not become orderly debating-grounds for conflicting world views. Rather, they simply institutionalized such principles as "objectivity." This proved disastrous for the humanities, whose task is the transmission of culture, although the sciences escaped relatively unharmed. Science's survival was due not to the objectivity of its methods but rather to the rigor of its

Thomas Fleming is the editor of Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture *and author of* The Politics of Human Nature.

James Gardner is a frequent contributor to Commentary, The New Criterion, *and* NR.

Paul Gottfried is a senior editor of The World & I.

David Klinghoffer is NR*'s assistant book editor.*

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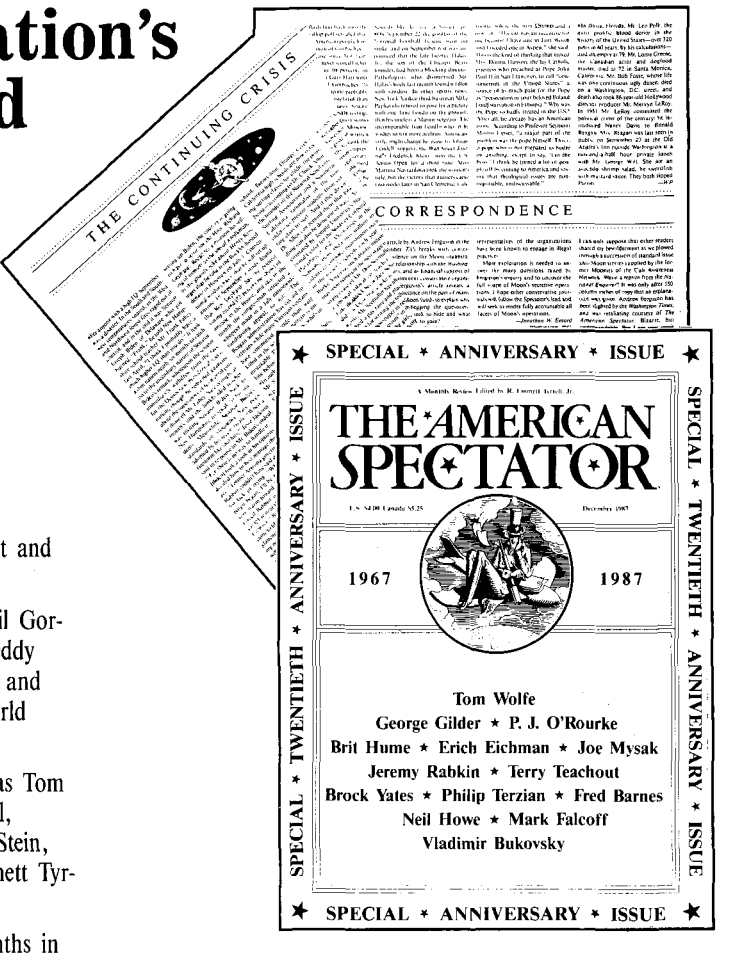
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discipline in forcing its own point of view upon all those who would study physics or biology.

While MacIntyre seems to appreciate the rugged traditionalism of modern science, he does not share Aristotle's enthusiasm for the study of nature or the collection of empirical evidence. Before elaborating his theory of politics, Aristotle made a point of collecting the "constitutions" of Greek and barbarian states. His interest was twofold: he wanted to be able to classify the various types of government like so many plant specimens, but he was also looking for evidence of what he called "natural justice" and later writers termed natural law.

Ever since Franz Boas began sending students like Margaret Mead into the field, it has been an axiom of American anthropology that human nature is infinitely variable. In fact, there is a wealth of evidence from a variety of cultures to suggest that on certain basic points—murder, theft, incest, etc.—the moral systems of the human family converge. There are, of course, exceptions, but cultures can fall into bad habits as much as individuals. By drawing his conclusions from human cultural norms and not from exceptions, David Hume anticipated, for example, the cross-cultural surveys of G. P. Murdock.

Properly used, a survey of cross-cultural data could be the first step in re-establishing an empirically grounded theory of natural law. Such a natural law would be entirely compatible with MacIntyre's own emphasis on tradition, because human nature is never found in a pure state; it is always concrete and historical. The individual-as-such is the fantasy of liberals who have failed, after two centuries of effort, to realize their grand system of a world without superstition, prejudice, and traditional piety. In reality, it is not religion but philosophy that is an endangered species. As Mary Midgley said in a recent article, it is now a point of honor with ethical philosophers that their work has no practical significance. If philosophers cannot agree even on the terms of their debate, ordinary people must still muddle through somehow, making decisions on whether or not they should cheat on their taxes, pay for their daughter's abortion, or get a divorce. Their best resource remains "participation in the life of one of those groups whose thought and

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RANDOM NOTES

☐ LAST APRIL TITLES: *Travels* (Knopf, $17.95), by Michael Crichton, finds the traveler, author, and Harvard Medical School graduate touring Pakistan and the Yucatan peninsula, climbing Kilimanjaro, and scuba-diving in the Caribbean and Tahiti, as well as reflecting on what he considers to be the shared search by scientists and mystics for universal truth.

Madness in the Family (New Directions, $16.95), by William Saroyan, is a collection of 17 stories (largely of Armenian-American family life in California) that, though not devoid of interest, are unlikely to enhance the faded literary reputation of a once-fashionable writer.

☐ COMING IN MAY: *William F. Buckley Jr.: Patron Saint of the Conservatives* (Simon & Schuster, $22.95), by John B. Judis, is an attempt at a balanced and sympathetic portrait by an editor of the opinion tabloid *In These Times*. . . . In *Lillian Hellman: Her Legend and Her Legacy* (St. Martin's, $24.95), Carl Rollyson gives us an honest, unvarnished biography of "the ugliest of them all."

U.S. Ends and Means in Central America: A Debate (Plenum, $19.95), by Ernest van den Haag and Tom J. Farer, is an interesting—even exciting—exchange between the conservative professor of jurisprudence at Fordham and a law professor at American University. Van den Haag, dismissing international law as a delusion and urging the national interest, supports the Reagan Administration's attempts to dislodge the Sandinistas by military action; Farer, claiming that Washington has "unintentionally demonstrated the difference between a ruthless and a wise diplomacy," urges a negotiated settlement.

In *The Jealous Potter* (Chicago, $19.95), Claude Lévi-Strauss argues that the Freudian approach to explaining the mythical symbolism of primitive peoples is itself primitively simplistic.

Selected Letters of Richard Wagner (Norton, $35), translated and edited by Stewart Spencer and Barry Millington, consists of five hundred letters, some of them printed for the first time, and introduced by six illuminating essays by the editors, both of them British musicologists. —CW

action are informed by some distinctive profession of settled conviction." Making moral sense of the world turns out to depend not upon what we can glean from the pages of John Rawls or Robert Nozick, but upon our allegiance to the blood of our ancestors and the faith of our fathers. Professor MacIntyre might not care for their company, but intelligent conservatives cannot afford to ignore the most subversive conservative thinker since T. S. Eliot and Richard Weaver. ☐

ORDER AND DISORDER

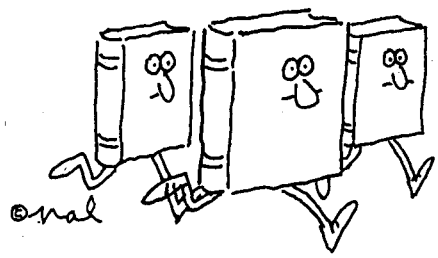
Paul Gottfried

Political Order, by David J. Levy (Louisiana, 204 pp., $22.50)

WHILE AMERICANS rejoice or fret over dissension on the Right, European conservatism has been prospering intellectually. Beyond the neoliberals (who wish to prune European welfare states) and the anti-Communist social democrats, an energetic traditionalist Right is thriving on the European scene. Its members—who include respected academicians such as Roger Scruton, Julien Freund, and Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora—gravitate toward magazines like *Criticon*, *Nouvelle Ecole*, *Razón Española*, and *Salisbury Review*. David J. Levy, who contributes to *Salisbury Review* and has written extensively on Eric Voegelin, is of this honored company, and his latest book is characteristic of the European conservative renascence.

Levy maintains that the construction of a sound political order can never break entirely free from our biological natures, and that the attempt to achieve such a disjunction leads inescapably to the kinds of totalitarian experiments in human reconstruction favored by feminists and Communists. He also stresses the transforming power of consciousness on man's natural condition. Unlike lower forms of life, human beings cannot function effectively without an intricate network of relationships and institutions. Man's natural vulnerability forces him to be cerebral and creative and, finally, to develop civil societies.

But Levy goes beyond this Hobbesian defense of government as necessary for man's physical survival, to argue something reminiscent of Aristotle: that political society is the precondition for the full development of what is distinctly human in our nature. According to Levy, who finds his way back to Aristotle's *Politics* by way of sociobiology and German philosophies of consciousness, "To become adult is to realize oneself as a moral and social being through the acquisition of language and the attainment of a socially recognized identity that results from participation in the institutionalized order of the polity." What is not so much Aristotelian as Voegelinian about Levy's view is the identification of order with symbolic forms derived from religious needs and spiritual discoveries. Like Voegelin and Hans Jonas, Levy traces the character of political societies to a theological vision, broadly understood. Symbolic definitions of the way individuals and groups experience transcendence shape their political culture and educational values. Human consciousness rises from the mastery of technique to the perception of the transcendent ground of its own existence.



An unmistakable independence of mind stands out in Levy's work, as it does in the scholarship of other European conservatives. Levy presents social theory, rather than slogans calculated to attract funds from simple-minded corporate executives. Unlike the representatives of American "conservative" foundations, he is willing to state that biological inheritance affects social institutions. He also dares to discuss the conservative aspects of the ecology movement and the close tie between human identity and established community. Levy violates another taboo of contemporary American conservatism when he notes the "integral connection" between liberal individualism and collectivist socialism. In liberal democracies, "the citizen encounters the state not as the necessary vehicle of his struggle to survive as a member of a shared culture with its own distinct and valued identity, but as the dispenser of unconditional benefits whose purpose is to facilitate his private satisfactions."

One thing Levy and other European conservatives may eventually learn from our own still underappreciated second-generation Old Right is sensitivity to the historical process. Levy insists that man orders history with-

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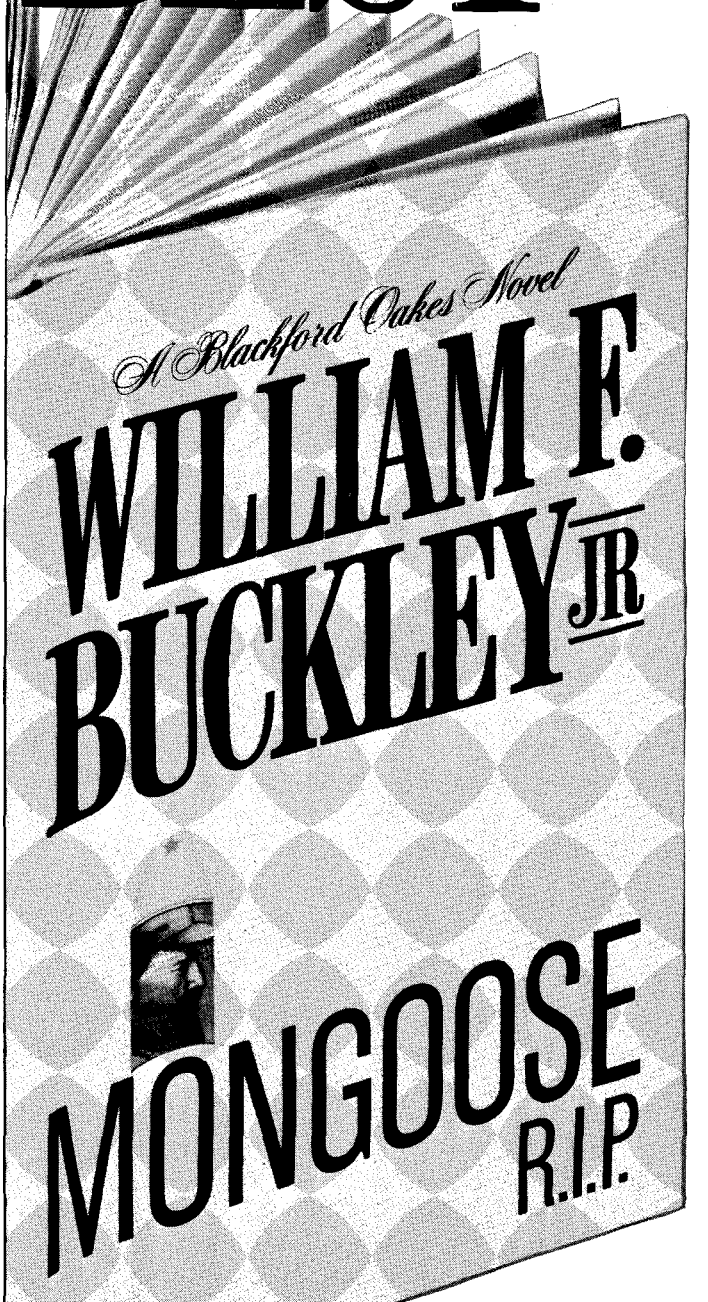

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out being controlled by its cumulative weight; appeals to history he scorns as mere determinism. Yet conservatives may be compelled to believe otherwise. America's transformation from a nation of rooted citizens into a conglomeration of deracinated individuals and strident special-interest groups did not result simply from flawed personal judgments: social forces, as well as utopian impulses and unbounded individual appetites, helped destroy the normative political order that Levy describes. William R. Hawkins and Wayne Lutton, among others, have noted in these pages that a certain thematic continuity exists between the Carter and Reagan Administrations. Emphases upon often vaguely defined human rights and upon global democracy, along with the blurring of American national identity, may be seen as links between the two Presidencies. Samuel T. Francis sees an even more ominous connection in terms of the influence of a growing managerial class on recent American governments. According to Francis, the interplay of multinational corporations, blue- and white-collar unions, and the self-conscious elements of the public bureaucracy has come to determine our political situation. Whatever conflicts may exist among the elements of this coalition, they all agree on the need to delegitimize racial, sexual, regional, and national distinctions. Moreover, all Administrations will try to accommodate each of the various parts of the ruling coalition, helping some more and others less. Thus the Reagan Administration winks at illegal Mexican labor and reduces corporate taxes, while permitting the AFL-CIO to restructure the economies of Third World allies under the guise of global democratic revolution.

Such analysis is predicated on what David Levy has called the "hermeneutics of suspicion"—something he attributes to the Marxist Left. Though Levy may be correct about the origin of this interpretive approach, it may nevertheless yield useful lessons for authentic conservatives. Few American conservatives can write about order as gracefully or with as much erudition as Levy does. But some of us do recognize political disorder, however indignantly its beneficiaries may claim to represent the opposite. □

POPE-SYMP

Joseph Sobran

The Catholic Moment, by Richard John Neuhaus (Harper & Row, 292 pp., $19.95)

"THIS," ARGUES Richard John Neuhaus, Lutheran pastor, "is the moment in which the Roman Catholic Church in the world can and should be the lead church in proclaiming and exemplifying the Gospel." Moreover,

"Its insights have guided my own thinking and I am proud to count myself as one of your students." —RONALD REAGAN

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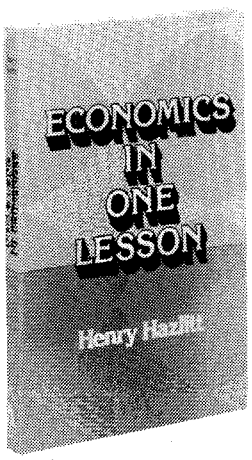

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although this is secondary, "This can and should also be the moment in which the Roman Catholic Church in the United States assumes its rightful role in the culture-forming task of constructing a religiously informed public philosophy for the American experiment in ordered liberty."

Neuhaus thinks the Catholic window of opportunity has been opened by Pope John Paul II, whom he sees, disagreeing with both Catholic liberals and Catholic traditionalists, as passionately extending the project of the Second Vatican Council, not curtailing or reversing it. The Pope is stealing the Council from the progressives.

Just when nearly everyone has quietly dropped the idea of ecumenism as a Sixties fad, Neuhaus celebrates it—at least as implemented by John Paul. It needn't mean a watering down of doctrine: it can mean a special emphasis on those doctrines, dogmatic and moral, that unite Catholics and other Christians.

Neuhaus sees the key change of the Council not in the Church's opening to the modern secular world but in its opening to other branches of Christianity. What had been armed borders became meeting places. Thanks to the Council, Rome is now in a position to offer worldwide leadership to "mere" Christianity.

Meanwhile, Catholicism has suffered a new kind of internal defection that has undermined the old lines of definition. Many nominal Catholics, especially of the "New Class," say the old words but subtly invest them with radically new content. Neuhaus keenly catches Richard McBrien of Notre Dame in the act, when the wily theologian piously speaks of preserving "the historic Catholic values of community, tradition, grace, and sacrament." Says Neuhaus:

> The use of the distinctly contemporary word "values" is noteworthy. Values are, of course, quite different from truths. Truths, like facts, are there quite apart from ourselves; they are there to be acknowledged as true but are not true by virtue of our acknowledgment. "Values," on the other hand, is a term derived from economics and market theory; values are the creation of human valuing. What we deem valuable is, by definition, a value. A great "geological shift" has indeed taken place when our attention is turned from Christian truths to religious values.

Pow.

(This book teems with sharp asides: "Beginning in 1984, the [*New York*] *Times* became the promoter, announcer, referee, and judge of the long-running O'Connor-versus-Cuomo fight, marking the end of each round with a magisterial editorial that declares Cuomo the winner.")

Neuhaus scores Catholic progressives for confusing "transcendence" with the future, especially the imagined future (which never arrives) of secular progressive ideology—though he admits that many of the Council texts abet their interpretation. On the other hand, he calls for "a more discriminating conservatism . . . that does not confuse the defense of the familiar with the defense of what Russell Kirk calls 'the permanent things.' " Conservatives fall into a trap when they accept the liberals' premise that the opposite of the cause of the future is the cause of the past; but John Paul has completely avoided this pitfall, for which Neuhaus deeply admires him.

Longish stretches of *The Catholic Moment* are heavy going. Dealing as he does with the New Class, Neuhaus also addresses them, and too often in their own dialect of fussbudget abstraction, sparing few qualifiers. True, it's easy to get nailed on minor overstatements and ambiguities, but I think we can afford to relax and speak elliptically now. And yet, time and again a subtle argument is rounded off with a nice epigram, or even a good laugh. The author's native incisiveness always triumphs.

The book ends with a series of intellectual depth charges. Liberation theology may not survive Neuhaus's discussion of it, charitable though he is. He caps it with a "cautionary tale": the story of Emmanuel Hirsch. Born in 1888, Hirsch in his day was among the giants of German theology, of the stature of Tillich, Bultmann, and Barth. Like his friend Tillich, he was a socialist. Like today's liberation theologians, he bet his chips on "the future," in the form of a contemporary political movement. His early support for the Hitler movement made Tillich break bitterly with him, though to Tillich's embarrassment Hirsch justified his decision on Tillich's principles. Not that Hirsch would have been anything but horrified by what German National Socialism came to. And Neuhaus, while not exculpating him, notes that Nazism had no historical track record at the time, so that Hirsch had more excuse than today's radical Catholics who embrace Communist movements in the name of humanitarian hope.

Even so, Neuhaus doesn't leave the point there. He notes that Tillich, expostulating with Hirsch in 1934, went to the heart of the matter: that even if Hitler had delivered on his promises without mayhem, no Christian could be justified in assenting to boundless political power. Hirsch's essential error wasn't merely prudential: he had been willing to place the church in the state's yoke.

Neuhaus's real forte is a fine sense of what needs saying. He has a wonderful knack for being the first to express what the rest of us vaguely feel awaits utterance. His discussion of what's wrong with the American bishops' recent collective pronouncements is stimulating, satisfying, exact; once said, it seems obvious, but it hadn't quite been said before. The same is true of his defense of Cardinal Ratzinger, who tends to be praised for not quite the right reasons (when he is praised at all).

Is this really "the Catholic moment"? It could be; but somehow I doubt that the opportunity will be realized. Even so, it's good to close a book feeling that John Paul II has finally found the appreciation he deserves. □

APPOINTMENT WITH THE IRREDENTIST

David Klinghoffer

The Yellow Wind, by David Grossman, translated by Haim Watzman (Farrar, 216 pp., $17.95)

THE YELLOW WIND, an account of Israeli novelist David Grossman's travels and conversations with Palestinians in the occupied territories, has caused quite a stir in Israel. A national best-seller, the book means to be an "elegant plea" for an approach to the present conflict gentler

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than Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin's "force, might, and beatings." In fact, it presents an inelegant, but extremely persuasive, case for giving up on a diplomatic solution altogether.

Any recommendation of *The Yellow Wind* must begin with the warning that the book is a piece of profoundly amateurish journalism. It's hard to say whether the clumsy language, stale phrases, and bumbling syntax have been brought over from Grossman's Hebrew, or if they are the handiwork of the translator and the editors. Certainly the lazy reporting and naïve enthusiasm for everything Arab are the author's own. Unlike more aggressive, critical journalists—Joan Didion, for example—Grossman pursues his subject not as an investigator, but as a passive recorder of other people's words and ideas. Instead of witnessing events himself, he relies on second-hand, even third-hand, accounts; it's not easy to believe that everything he hears is true, but he passes it along anyway, often without comment. Typical is his interview with a young woman named Raula, who tells him about Taghrid Batma, a comrade in the Palestinian student movement: "Israeli intelligence agents killed her in '82. Why? Because she was a good Palestinian. She organized many demonstrations and was an activist. That's why." Period. That's all Grossman needs or wants to know.

Palestinians like Taghrid Batma make repeated appearances in *The Yellow Wind*, giving the book's portrait of the West Bank a weird air of unreality. For Grossman, the people of the occupied territories are a nation of innocent martyrs, poets, and scholars. Strolling on Bethlehem University's campus lawn, he admires the hundreds of students lounging around on the grass, talking or reading; the scene reminds him, he says, of "pictures of Plato's school in Athens." Inside, he notices a student in a wheelchair: "Maybe a genius." In the West Bank town of Barta'a, Grossman chats with Judat, a dishwasher with a degree in economics from the University of Jordan. Don't be surprised, he warns: "We have an Oxford-educated engineer here who works picking oranges and repairing cars. We have some street cleaners with college educations." A talented young songwriter Grossman meets is a dishwasher at an Israeli restaurant (dishwashing seems to be the profession of choice among the Palestinian underemployed). "The evil man called to a noble poor man," the boy croons. "Come, he told him, work for me. . . . / Cook, launder, clean my house."

If *The Yellow Wind* fails as literary journalism, however, it more than justifies itself as a record of what Palestinian Arabs are thinking and feeling as the United States gears up to push one of her closest allies into a historic negotiated settlement with them. Though he never comes out and says it, it's evident that Grossman believes in the land-for-peace formula. Like George Shultz and Shimon Peres, he seems confident that the people of the West Bank and Gaza are ready, as they have not been in the past, to trade autonomy in the territories for friendship with Israel.

His own book gives us reason for skepticism: the Palestinians in *The Yellow Wind* are clearly determined to end up with somewhat more than a tiny rump state on the banks of the river Jordan. Grossman likes to ask the Arabs he meets where they are from. The answer is always the same: Palestinian refugees consider the towns and villages they abandoned during the War of Independence to be their once, present, and future homes. "Lod," is the reply of one 16-year-old girl, whose family fled from that city now in the heart of Israel, near Ben-Gurion International Airport.

"Have you visited Lod?" he asks.

"Of course not."

"Aren't you curious to see it now?"

"Only when we return," she says.

The Palestinians have a history, stretching back as far as 1936, of

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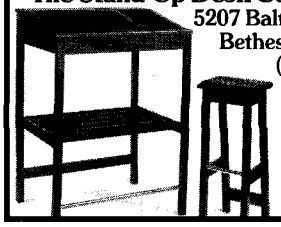

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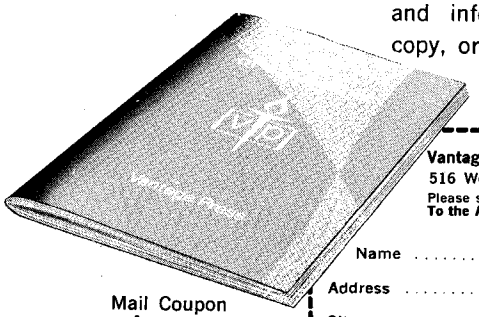

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rejecting or undermining plans for peaceful partition of the region. If Grossman's subjects are representative, Palestinian irredentism has remained absolute. "We are against Arafat," explains a young teacher in the Deheisha refugee camp, "because Arafat wants peace. We want a solution by force. Only thus." Another teacher asks a little boy in the Deheisha kindergarten, "Who do you want to shoot?" "Jews," he says. And an old man in Wadi Alfuquin tells of the *rih asfar*, the "yellow wind" of the book's title, "the hot and terrible east wind which comes once in a few generations" to seek out tyrants and oppressors, "and there, in the cracks in the boulders, it exterminates them, one by one."

The situation seems hopeless, and not only because the Palestinians will settle for nothing less than everything: also very telling is the book's illustration, in the person of the author, of the deep Jewish unease with power. One senses that what bothers Grossman is not so much that the Arabs in the occupied territories are second-class citizens, without the right to serve in the Israeli army or vote for representatives in the Knesset: there is, after all, nothing Jewish about democracy; it has been democracy—in the broader sense of the rule of majority over minority—that has repeatedly threatened the very existence of Jews and Judaism. What makes Grossman uncomfortable is the idea of Jews as conquerors. Power, he feels, is a kind of decay, a failing. Like the Jewish priests in Nietzsche's mythology, for whom "the wretched alone are pious, alone are blessed by God," Grossman consistently prefers weakness to strength, portraying Palestinians as morally superior for the very reason that they lack power. In the Arabs of the occupied territories he sees a picture of what the Jews once were and ought rightly to be once more. A Palestinian crone reminds him of his Polish grandmother. A teenage boy, sitting on a roof in a West Bank refugee camp, playing a homemade kazoo, is "a fiddler on the roof."

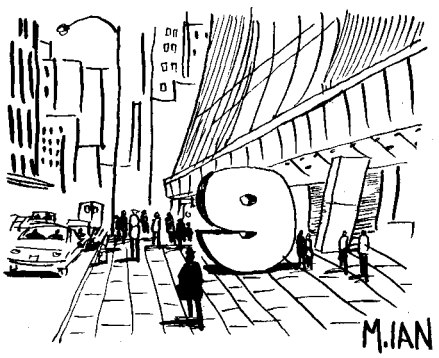
And certainly, among Jewish liberals, Grossman is not alone. *The New Republic*'s literary editor, Leon Wieseltier, for example, writes dismissively of "the Jewish experiment with power." In fact, the Jewish sympathy for weakness has a distinguished pedigree, reaching back to the texts of classical rabbinic Judaism. ("Who is someone who will inherit the world to come?" asks the Talmud. "It is one who is meek and humble, who bends when he comes and bends when he goes out.") In modern Israel the traditional roles have been reversed: conquered has become conqueror, slave has become master. Grossman and others like him want to give Israel's enemies a chance to set things straight. □

OUTSIDE THE INN

Regis Martin

George Santayana: A Biography, by John McCormick (Knopf, 612 pp., $30)

FOR THOSE of average cultural literacy, the name Santayana is likely to summon only an epigrammatic warning about people who cannot remember the past (they are condemned, he said, to repeat it). The other Santayana—the one who wrote learned and elegant works on philosophy and literature, as well as a best-selling novel, and whose 25 years at Harvard inspired students like Wallace Stevens and Walter Lippmann—this Santayana has been almost wholly forgotten since his death in 1952. Professor McCormick, who teaches comparative literature at Rutgers, wants to change all that, to restore a truer sense of the place George Santayana deserves in the history of modern intellectual life. The trouble is, the more one reads Santayana (and this biography is replete with quotations from his works) the more suspicious one becomes of the effort to resurrect his reputation at all. Could it be that the famous crack about the historically forgetful was one of the few things Santayana said that deserve to survive? One thinks of Raymond Chandler's observation on John



P. Marquand, who, like Santayana, was once widely read and acclaimed: "A man has no right to write that well and in the end say so little."

Let's face it: Lucretius had said it all long ago, in accents of high pagan melancholy amid the twilight of antiquity; a world whose materialist pretensions the Word made flesh would soon bury forever. Santayana, as a young undergraduate festooned with the fashionable despair of the period, carried his copy of Lucretius about in a back pocket, and there is nothing to suggest that he ever outgrew the author of *On the Nature of Things*. Both were of the same mind on what, by their reckoning, lay at the end of the road of all human inquiry: death, horror, nothingness.

If nothing can come from nothing, to sound the keynote of Lucretian gloom, then everything is destined for extinction. That same bleak pessimism abounds in all the writings of Santayana. We are not better equipped to sort out the flux of things, he chirped, than a single insect that lives but an hour. (That being the case, he might have spared us all those tomes telling us all that we don't know.) Failure to face that ineluctable fact, he believed, explains the origin of all mystical religion, whose devotees fashion chimeras of the absolute out of sheer fear and longing to escape the "momentary throb of existence." Better to live with disillusion, he would argue, and endure the sadness of men who know at the last that there is only the eternal silence.

Kindergarten atheism, to be sure; but it does explain Santayana's abhorrence for Christmas, a feast that he, like his fellow atheist exile Bernard Berenson, could never bring himself to celebrate. Instructing the nuns at Calvary Hospital in Rome, where he spent his last years, that under no circumstances were they to send for a priest to assist him into the next world—having no wish to go there, there being no *there* to go to—he announced with his usual defiance, "I shall die as I have lived."

But it seems he paid a steep price for it in the end. Just before his final coma and death, Sister Angela, who had spent some ten years caring (and praying) for him, asked if he continued to suffer. "Not physically," he said, "—no more—but mentally." "Why?" she asked. Santayana strained

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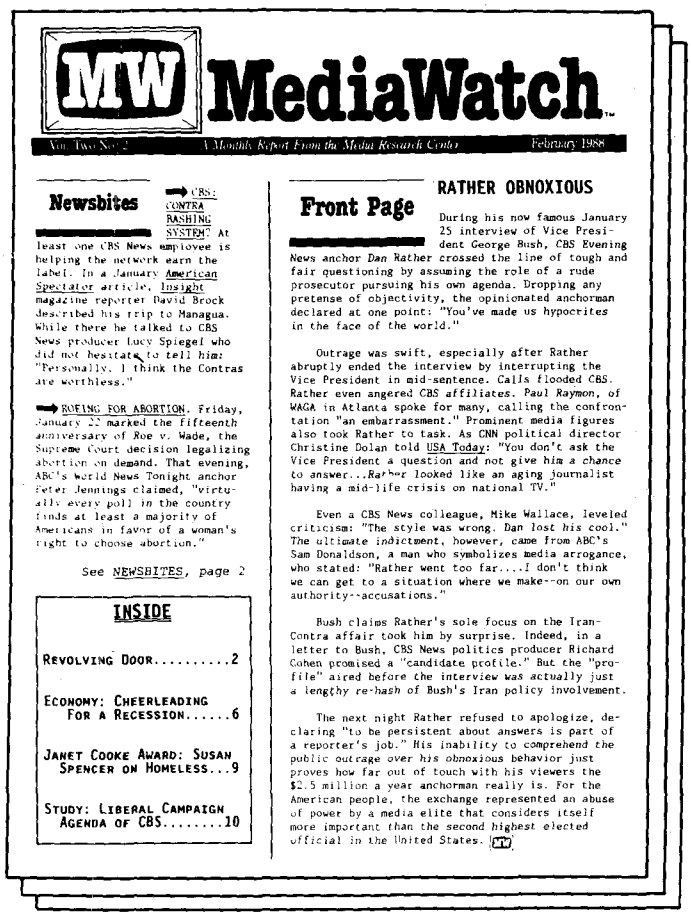

MW MediaWatch

Vol. Two No. 2 A Monthly Report From the Media Research Center February 1988

Newsbites

➡ CBS: CONTRA BASHING SYSTEM? At least one CBS News employee is helping the network earn the label. In a January American Spectator article, Insight magazine reporter David Brock described his trip to Managua. While there he talked to CBS News producer Lucy Spiegel who did not hesitate to tell him: "Personally, I think the Contras are worthless."

➡ ROEING FOR ABORTION. Friday, January 22 marked the fifteenth anniversary of Roe v. Wade, the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion on demand. That evening, ABC's World News Tonight anchor Peter Jennings claimed, "virtually every poll in the country finds at least a majority of Americans in favor of a woman's right to choose abortion."

See NEWSBITES, page 2

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Front Page

RATHER OBNOXIOUS

During his now famous January 25 interview of Vice President George Bush, CBS Evening News anchor *Dan Rather* crossed the line of tough and fair questioning by assuming the role of a rude prosecutor pursuing his own agenda. Dropping any pretense of objectivity, the opinionated anchorman declared at one point: "You've made us hypocrites in the face of the world."

Outrage was swift, especially after Rather abruptly ended the interview by interrupting the Vice President in mid-sentence. Calls flooded CBS. Rather even angered CBS affiliates. Paul Raymon, of WAGA in Atlanta spoke for many, calling the confrontation "an embarrassment." Prominent media figures also took Rather to task. As CNN political director Christine Dolan told USA Today: "You don't ask the Vice President a question and not give him a chance to answer...Rather looked like an aging journalist having a mid-life crisis on national TV."

Even a CBS News colleague, Mike Wallace, leveled criticism: "The style was wrong. Dan lost his cool." The ultimate indictment, however, came from ABC's Sam Donaldson, a man who symbolizes media arrogance, who stated: "Rather went too far....I don't think we can get to a situation where we make--on our own authority--accusations."

Bush claims Rather's sole focus on the Iran-Contra affair took him by surprise. Indeed, in a letter to Bush, CBS News politics producer Richard Cohen promised a "candidate profile." But the "profile" aired before the interview was actually just a lengthy re-hash of Bush's Iran policy involvement.

The next night Rather refused to apologize, declaring "to be persistent about answers is part of a reporter's job." His inability to comprehend the public outrage over his obnoxious behavior just proves how far out of touch with his viewers the $2.5 million a year anchorman really is. For the American people, the exchange represented an abuse of power by a media elite that considers itself more important than the second highest elected official in the United States. MW

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to speak, from what depth of anguish God alone knows, forming the word, the last word he would ever say, "Desperation!"

McCormick, incidentally, omits this crucial detail altogether, substituting instead a series of rambling Socratic exchanges between the dying sage and his disciple-secretary, Daniel Cory, which flatly contradicts Sister Angela's eyewitness account. For all his research, it seems odd that McCormick should have missed the interview Sister Angela gave shortly after Santayana's death, which later appeared in a learned theological journal. On the other hand, Cory's blandly self-serving account, on which McCormick builds his narrative, leaves serenely undisturbed those materialist presumptions that he and Santayana shared.

And what are they but so many variations on that fundamental solipsism which bedeviled Santayana right from the beginning? "The real was rotten and only the imaginary at all interesting," he said. Finding the world outside to be "ashes in the mouth," Santayana commenced to turn all reality on its head. He would never enter what Chesterton called "The Inn of Existence," i.e., the truth that things are and are good. And so, like a lost figure in a Henry James story, fated to live entirely out of his own head, he created his own inner landscape of pure spirit, the ultimate desolation of which even his biographer is unable to disguise. His whole life strikes one as being bereft of any sense of place; neither the Spain of his birth, the America of his youth and manhood, the England and France of his middle age, nor the Rome of his last years evoke the heartbeat of home. Always he will prefer the fastness of his own mind. Like a latter-day Plotinus, who never gave his address as he was ashamed to be in the body, Santayana remained to the last the solitary soul.

"Perchance when Carnival is done," wrote the young Santayana at a time when the skepticism had not yet set like concrete,

And sun and moon go out for me
Christ will be God, and I the one
That in my youth I used to be.

Here is the philosopher that might have been; and the loss, quite apart from the question of his soul's salvation, remains an incalculable one for the life of the mind. But it will take a better biography than McCormick's to search out the dimensions of that loss. □

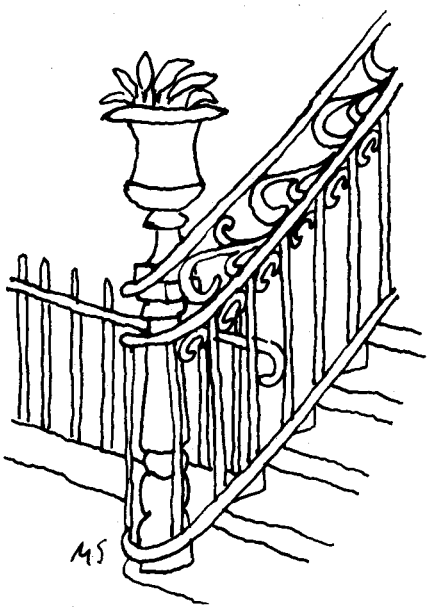
S.-TROGEN

David Lipsky

S., by John Updike (Knopf, 279 pp., $17.95)

IN THE middle of John Updike's fourth novel, *Of the Farm*, the narrator's stepson receives a guide to Pennsylvania wildflowers and spends part of an afternoon trying to match the color illustrations in the book to the real flowers around him. Both the narrator and his mother remark on the difficulty of this enterprise but, at the same time, the value of its being attempted. Indeed, in Updike's work, exactitude, the correct labeling of the world's elements, has always been given an exalted position. In an interview at the end of *Hugging the Shore*, his third nonfiction collection, Updike says, "Life is grim. [Writing] makes it less so. I cannot do justice to the bliss that attends getting even a single string of dialogue or the name of a weed right. Naming our weeds, in fact, seems to be exactly where it's at."

S. is Updike's 12th novel and, as we know from more recent interviews, he wrote the book partially in answer to his female critics. Women, the consensus has been, have often taken a beating in Updike's work. This image of Updike as misogynist has found



supporters at every level of criticism. (My last year of high school, a girl I knew wrote her senior thesis on "Women in John Updike's Fiction.") So, Updike wrote a novel with a female lead as active and clever as any of his previous male leads, in a first-person narrative with the added pleasure of coming to us through the medium of her personal correspondence with family, friends, bankers, one psychiatrist, and a dentist (perhaps all of our major authors, burdened as they are throughout their professional lives with crank mail, have lying dormant in them one epistolary novel). In the course of *S.*, Sarah Worth leaves her North Shore home and her husband and daughter; sells their stocks; joins an Arizona religious sect much like the Rajneeshpuram of Oregon; has a heterosexual affair with one of the members, a lesbian affair with another, and a third affair with the Arhat, the sect's spiritual leader; embezzles $300,000; and flees to a Caribbean island, all in just 279 pages.

What is most interesting about the book is not its scattered baggage of references to *The Scarlet Letter* (Updike has made much of *S.*'s completing the Hawthorne trilogy begun in two earlier novels, *A Month of Sundays* and *Roger's Version*; in *S.*, the effort consists mainly of the heroine's trying to force vitamin A on everyone) but the voice in which Updike has chosen to narrate. In the last decade and a half, Updike's fiction has grown increasingly Nabokovian. It has been a welcome shift; *Roger's Version* owed much to Charles Kinbote in *Pale Fire*, as did *The Coup*. Sarah borrows from Nabokov that same strain of condescending snideness, a heartening will to retain at least the powers of exact expression. Talking of her septuagenarian mother's Florida socializing: "She is flipping her lid down there . . . acting and dressing like a seventy-year-old beach bimbo (she watches with inane delight something called *Golden Girls* on television), going out on disgusting dinner 'dates' (I think at that age the thrill is mostly in just the eating, but God knows)"; writing to a faulty-fenced cattle rancher who has accused the ashram of steer theft: "We are vegetarians in this place, and have no need of rustling protein from you. So kindly look for your cattle elsewhere, among your other ranching friends . . . And, no, we will not join you in the

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costs of repairing the fence and reinforcing the same. The fence is your affair, as all who are in our ashram wish to stay in and, unlike underfed steers living under sentence of death, they have no need of barbed wires."

Sarah Worth is one of Updike's most sharp-eyed observers; the spin of *S.* is getting these observations from a woman:

> The strange thing about womanhood is that it goes on and on—the same daily burden of constant vague expectation and of everything being just *slightly* disappointing compared with what one knows one has inside oneself waiting to be touched off. It's rather like being a set of pretty little logs that won't quite catch fire, isn't it? . . . We all only have so much romantic energy with which to rise to the occasion, whether one man or two dozen makes up the occasion. Of course your Jan seems to you to be a fully feeling and responsive human being now, just as Fritz did to me a month ago. But afterwards, if you can bear to talk to them—these meaningful men—it turns out that their minds even at the *height* of the involvement were totally elsewhere—were not really in the relationship at all! They were only and entirely what we in our poor fevers made of them.

Those who dismiss the heroine as a final crystallization of Updike's negative vision of women—I know my friend from high school would—miss the point. Free, Sarah behaves just as well and as badly as the men in Updike's fiction tend to. (The sex scene, which is a counterpart to all Updike's male-imagined sex scenes, the author cleverly saves for the last letter; it's a barn burner.) And though *S.* seems intended as a farce, the ending is traditionally lovely, the intensity of the language slipping up sentence by sentence, word by word, until our throats catch as the last line is delivered.

In *Midpoint*, Updike's long, autobiographical poem, the author's daughter describes his "writing [as] 'a waste' about 'terrible people.'" In *S.*, Sarah reminds her own daughter of her voracious childhood reading habits, even "up to those unpleasant modern writers who try to make us all feel shabby." Updike has never tried to make us feel shabby. For 34 years, he has been compiling a sort of guide to human fauna, a wildflower book for the human environment in which we live. It's always a pleasure to match up his illustrations with the way things actually look, and we leave *S.*, as we leave all of Updike's work, feeling that the world really is a little less grim. □

ART

OF, BY, AND FOR THE LEFT

James Gardner

YOU WILL probably have missed "Committed to Print," a small exhibition about social and political themes in recent American printed art, which lately left the Museum of Modern Art in New York and is now going nowhere. In the remote possibility that you are sorry not to have seen it, I shall try to console you. To be fair I must say that, as exhibitions go, it was not badly done. The curator, Deborah Wye, clearly knows her subject, and went to considerable lengths to ferret out of their obscure hiding places over 150 posters, booklets, fliers, and advertisements from 1960 to the present. In her catalogue, which provides an informative introduction and sensible commentary on each of the exhibits, she has managed to appear scrupulously non-partisan, and this, under the circumstances, is a miracle.

For what was most striking about "Committed to Print" was the uniformly leftist slant of the works. If the art world were the real world, it would be a one-party system. On a mischievous impulse, I inquired of a few viewers if they could direct me to the conservative section, and more often than not I was met with the sort of cold glance befitting someone who has interrupted Mass at Saint Peter's to ask where the toilets are. This imbalance, however, was no fault of the curator, since the simple truth is that the overwhelming majority of printed art is sponsored and created by, and intended for, people on the Left. On this score, Miss Wye quoted the spokesman for a conservative group that had commissioned a poster about the Iran-Contra hearings, who candidly admitted: "The left wing is generally much better at this than we are. They are more artsy."

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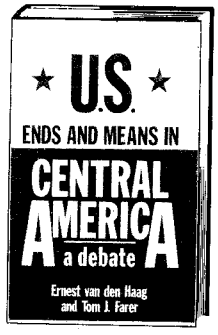

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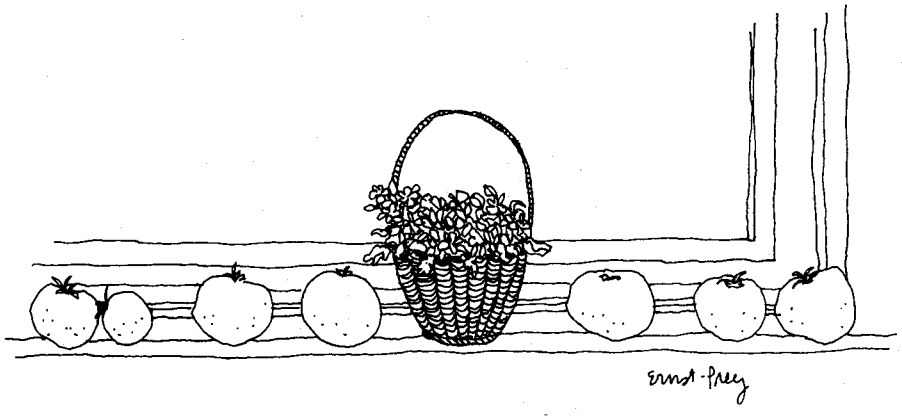
Among the issues covered in "Committed to Print" were Governments, Race, Gender, Nuclear Power, Revolution, and Class Struggle. Just about the only thing missing was Gay Rights. The question, of course, was not what position would be taken on any of these issues, but rather how the unfailingly predictable points of view were going to be expressed. The flaw of most of these works, aside from their being vulgar and illiberal, was that they were necessarily preaching to the converted. Like televised political advertisements, they were intended not to inform their audience, but to exploit convictions, often subliminal ones, that were already ingrained.

To borrow Miss Wye's useful distinction, most of the works in "Committed to Print" were either iconic or conceptual. The iconic examples used compelling visual imagery to get their point across. Leon Golub, in a work called *White Squad*, depicts a white male with thin lips, and, at his side, a crouching black man with a gun pointed at his own head. In another artist's work, *Malcolm X Speaks for Us*, the black leader, his chin thrust pugnaciously forward, looks into a crowd of victimized and angry black women and children. Also included was Warhol's doctoring of an especially nefarious photograph of Nixon, to which he affixed the caption "Vote McGovern." Elsewhere one found men in gas masks, children charred by napalm, missiles, barbed wire, soldiers with sunglasses, and, naturally, the American flag in sundry stages of corruption and decay.

The conceptual works featured a great deal of verbiage and word play, with the intention, through the incongruity of images and concept, to violate the received ideas of the viewers. One artist reproduced a well-known stamp with the legend "The Right of the People Peaceably to Assemble," beneath which black activists are being harassed by troopers in gas masks. Chris Burden—who is best known for performance pieces in which, among other forms of self-mutilation, he crawls naked through broken glass (the joke is presumably on us)—was represented by his *Atomic Alphabet*: Atomic, Bomb, Combat, etc. And there was much more of the same.

What, finally, were we to make of all these disturbing, clashing messages? Perhaps unlike other conservatively inclined critics, I could find justification for "Committed to Print." MOMA is as much an art-historical institution as an art-critical one: that is, it does not merely distinguish between good art and bad, and exclude the latter—it also defines important trends in modern art, at times irrespective of aesthetic merit. In the present context, of course, there can be no discussion of artistic excellence. What remained in one's mind after seeing "Committed to Print" was a sense of often highly effective and savvy advertising, a sense that the artists, who presumably despise Madison Avenue and all it stands for, have adopted the same means, the same slickness, the same anti-intellectual willingness to distort and simplify.

In her introduction, Miss Wye draws a connection between these and earlier artists like Bosch, Callot, Goya, and Kollwitz. But aside from their opposition to authority, what have these younger artists to do with those great spirits gone? They were the complete and unimpeachable masters of their art, and these can hardly draw. Humanity, that out-moded notion, was crystallized in everything that those artists put their hand to, while these are driven less by love of what they advocate than by a virulent hatred of the establishment they have rejected. The one notable exception in "Committed to Print" was Ben Shahn, who, in 1965, toward the end of his life, made sensitive portraits of three civil-rights workers who had been murdered in Mississippi. Here, finally, was a moment of peace in the midst of unreasoning, unrelenting anger and aggression. And it pleased me to think that, if he could have seen this exhibition, he would have been troubled by the difference between these advocates and those of his own day; that he would have wondered, with Wordsworth, why the present generation "has brought forth no such souls as we had then." □



THE GIMLET EYE

THE GOETZ CONFESSION

D. Keith Mano

THEY WERE too perfect, those four mischievous black children. At first Bernie Goetz didn't believe what he was seeing, I'm sure of that. Probably he thought they were a four-part hallucination—distilled, drop by drop, from his obsessive, long daydream of self-defense. It was all so opportune. Some sort of fate, some sort of natural *propriety* had taken over here. These five were meant for each other. Goetz must've been both terrified and, well, relieved. It was 1984. Goetz had been packing heat since 1981—the year when he was mugged and savagely beaten. Don't tell me he hadn't been rehearsing just such an encounter in his mind. (They'll say this. But, next time, I'll do *that*.) You could go further and call it entrapment. The effete, bespectacled, middle-class white male—prototype of victimhood, human bait—was luring his persecutors to their death.

Bernie Goetz's confession is an extraordinary document. And a banal one. Extraordinary, in part, because I rented it for $2.75. Soon, when some cop is reading me my rights, he'll say, "Not only can this be held against you, Buster, it may even show up at your local video store." Banal, because Goetz is a vapid, unattractive man. One would like to think attempted murder on this scale might heighten

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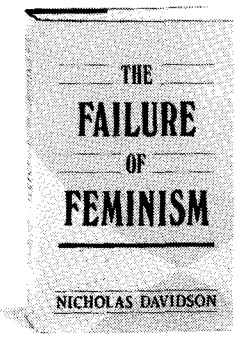
human sensibility somewhat. But no such luck. In the initial segment Goetz seems to hang, half-fetal, from his chair arm—looking rather like a stunned tree sloth. Lank fingers poke and assert: they are his only articulate part. Goetz —by self-assessment "not a talker"—is just monotonous, obscene for emphasis. He struggles, again and again, toward some suitable metaphor to describe his action, his mental state, yet he can't achieve it. Goetz doesn't have the kind of well-made mind you could bounce a quarter off. He is wholly mediocre. But, in time, that commonness acquires symbolic weight.

Goetz is animated and clear only on the subject of commando finesse. There, indeed, he tends to an unpleasant, pedantic tone. "You lay out your pattern of fire." "You go on reflex." But he is also sensitive to the nuances in terror. As Goetz entered that subway car one black said, "How're you doing?" Given the circumstance—black youth, white in middle age—it was an ominous pleasantry. Spider strands vibrate with such agreeable, light play. Goetz became alert. But it was only when they surrounded him, a pair on either side, that Goetz knew he would have to draw his gun. Just draw, not shoot: not yet. Then Troy Canty said, "Gimme five dollars." "I was deceitful," Goetz said. "I asked, 'What did you say?' " He wanted "verification." "Gimme five dollars," Canty said again. "He said it with a smile and his eyes were bright." Over and over Goetz refers to that critical brightness. It is—anyone who has seen a big male child in power knows it—it is the shine of bully lust. Goetz shot then: shot the brightness out. Never has justifiable homicide been so clearly premeditated murder.

Goetz calls himself "murderer," "coward." "My intent," he says, "was to kill." He even thought about gouging eyes out with a house key. At least one juror felt the confession was "completely and totally honest." What charm it may have—if you can use such language—lies in his sense of doomedness. Normal life is over for Bernie Goetz. He'll never be able to hop a downtown local again. But, although honest enough, it would appear that the confession just isn't entirely true. Only nine days after the shooting Goetz had begun to fantasize parts of his experience. The event—and media coverage of it—was in control. After

The Failure of Feminism

by Nicholas Davidson



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blasting those four, Goetz, by his own account, went back and blew Darrell Cabey's spinal cord away. "You seem to be doing all right," he claimed to have said. "Here's another one." Damaging testimony. It doesn't help sustain a self-defense plea. And yet the jury, reviewing evidence, chose not to believe Goetz's own version. It couldn't have happened that way, they said. The bullet's angle of entry precluded it. So much for your constitutional right to self-incrimination.

In fact—quite contrary to what both jurors and DA thought at first—the tape got Goetz off. He had outprosecuted the prosecution. What Goetz did with his discursive, self-vilifying drool was to release all emotion and suspense from the trial. He had made a moral pre-emptive strike. And he was exonerated, as well, by the superlative depravity of his attackers. Had just one black child been innocent, or even innocent-seeming—some high-school kid with no previous record, say—Goetz would've gone up. But the jury could empathize. James Ramseur, by himself, constituted a wave of terror. Goetz had impeccable taste in targets.

And yet—it is the most remarkable note in his confession—Goetz would seem to hold no grudge whatsoever against them. As Roy Innis pointed out (CORE stood by Goetz), never once, through all that passionate, impulsive testimony, did Goetz evince the slightest racial bias. He doesn't even mention color. He doesn't call any of his assailants "beast" or "criminal" or even "bad." "Fellow" is his most characteristic designation. Goetz saw Ramseur et al. as he saw himself —each victimized and distorted by the New York penal, legislative, and educational systems. For those he has a robust contempt. This very confession was inspired by his hatred of niggling, obstructionist legal practice. "If the truth isn't enough," Goetz says, he will make no other defense. Ultimately, under great pressure, he would scrap that idealistic stand. But his attitude to the four didn't change: it would remain strangely impersonal.

So, at last, there is almost nothing to be learned from the Goetz affair. It has the shape of an abstraction. It will set no particular precedent. "People are looking for a hero, people are looking for a villain," Goetz said. "All you have here is a vicious rat. This is survival instinct." Never again will such sullen, splendid predators chance to accost such a fierce, yet wonderfully detached, emblem of the white middle class. □

M.IAN

had an inner steel: he doesn't shoot a charging elephant at ten feet, because he knows it's a mock charge. (Beryl Markham, standing at his side, certain that this is her last moment, is understandably cross.) Cheerfulness abounds. Sometimes he's like a cheeky schoolboy. You can almost hear him ask a cannibal in the Congo, "Sir, which part of the human body is the most tasty?" His question is brushed off. But some beers later, as the tribal chief is leaving, he comments genially: "The best part is actually the one you're sitting on." Blixen was a wanderer, a rolling stone. He left Africa in the late Thirties and died a few years later, back home in Denmark, in a motor accident. A host of friends mourned him, among them most of his mistresses and at least one ex-wife, who regretted ever after having left him in, may we say, well-deserved pique. She blew it when he proposed a safari for three: himself, his wife Cockie, and his mistress Eva. Choose one of us, said Cockie. He chose the other woman and Cockie lost "the love of my life." The warm, bright memories of the friends of the man everyone seems to have loved breathe spirit into Ulf Aschan's chronicle. A book for Africa buffs.

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Man Whom Women Loved: The Life of Bror Blixen, by Ulf Aschan (St. Martin's, 238 pp., $15.95)

THE WORST thing about *The Man Whom Women Loved* is the silly title. The saddest is that Bror Blixen didn't himself write the book. Like Isak Dinesen, whom he married, and Beryl Markham, whom he loved (one of many), he wrote first-rate prose: imaginative, witty, and evocative. Ulf Aschan, his godson and biographer, makes wonderful use of the Blixen letters that survive; one wishes there were more. From the early 1910s to the late 1930s, Blixen was a legendary figure in East Africa: coffee planter, white hunter, trailblazer, explorer, philanderer—"a merry cheerful man who was always in a good mood." He also

Talking about God Is Dangerous, by Tatiana Goricheva (Crossroad, 144 pp., $11.95)

THIS BOOK is an intensely personal narrative of how a modern, well-educated Russian atheist came to discover the light of Christ under a regime that holds such discoveries cause for a trip to a psychiatric hospital or the Gulag. Miss Goricheva speaks directly to the reader about the wonder of her conversion. She portrays it in

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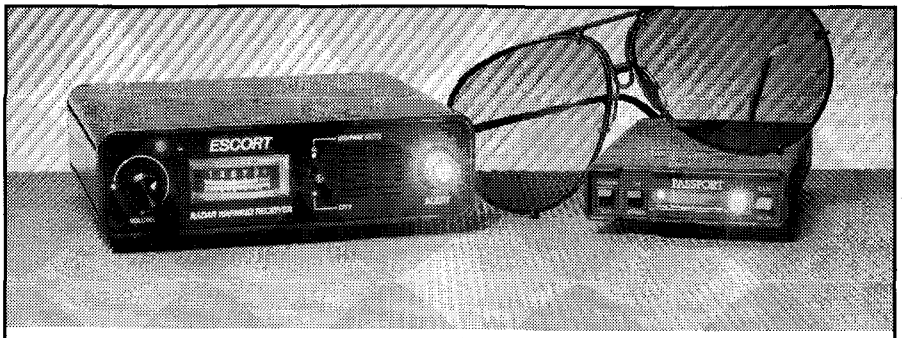
terms that are so stark, simple, and sudden that they remind one of the conversion of St. Paul on the road to Damascus. From this point, she guides the reader through the first years after her conversion, her initial enthusiasms and mistakes, and finally to a point of spiritual equilibrium where she continues to find Christ in the mundane realities of daily life. Although Tatiana Goricheva's perspective is that of Russian Orthodoxy, her account of Christian life in Russia today bespeaks a universal thirst for the Holy Spirit, especially by those who have suffered most under the cruel illusions of state-imposed materialism and societal controls. She chronicles a phenomenon little-known in the West: the conversion of large numbers of the Soviet intelligentsia, in particular the young, to Christianity. Surprisingly, these new converts are coming precisely from those elements of society which have the most to lose by rejecting the status quo of Soviet atheism and materialism. One of the most affecting chapters relates her first confession: "Our sins . . . somehow seemed to us to be so enormous that we found it hard to believe that they could disappear so simply, with the wave of a priest's hand. But we had already had a miraculous experience: from the nothingness of a meaningless existence bordering on desperation we had come into the Father's house, into the church, which for us was paradise." Miss Goricheva concludes with her KGB-coerced exile from Russia and her initial months in the West. Most interesting in these pages are her insights into "Western" Christianity and the spiritual poverty she experiences in it. The irony is that Miss Goricheva has come to discover that talking about God *is* dangerous, in both the East and the West, albeit for different reasons.

GREGORY SCHWEERS, O.CIST.

On Moral Medicine: Theological Perspectives in Medical Ethics, edited by Stephen E. Lammers and Allen Verhey (Eerdmans, 672 pp., $24.95 paper, $35 cloth)

MODERN MEDICINE is one of our century's success stories. It has achieved a high level of technological expertise and benefited millions of people. However, this expertise is the result of a Faustian bargain whereby the practitioners of the healing arts have traded away their understanding of the depths of human nature in exchange for mere technical competence. The consequences are disturbing, for when medical professionals forget that human beings are more than the sum of their bodily maladies, it becomes difficult for them to defend against the anti-human tendencies of applied technology, as the current debates over abortion, infanticide, and euthanasia make abundantly clear. In this light, Eerdmans is to be commended for publishing *On Moral Medicine.* This massive volume examines the modern practice of medicine from a wide variety of theological perspectives; it contains more than one hundred essays on 19 topics, ranging from "Life and Its Sanctity" to "Death and Its (In)-dignity" to "Care of Patients and Their Suffering," "Genetic Control," "Abortion," "Contraception," and so on through the entire spectrum. As the topics are wide-ranging, so too are



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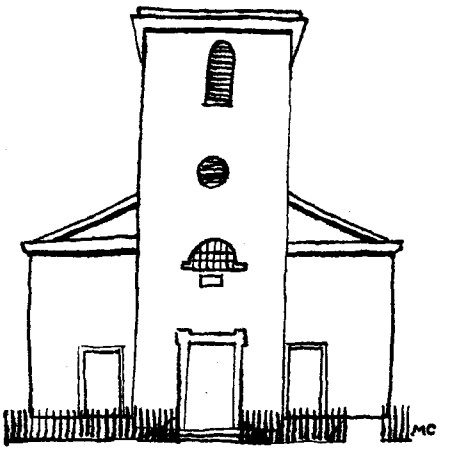
the theological points of view. The section on "Health and Healing," for example, contains selections from 2 Corinthians, Karl Barth, C. S. Lewis, LeRoy Walters, Ivan Illich, Paul Tillich, and Daniel Callahan. Readers from particular theological traditions may feel that this makes for a wild confusion of voices with no unifying theological foundation. It also accurately represents the state of contemporary theology. Each section of essays concludes with a short bibliography of recommended readings. The lack of an index is a glaring oversight, which I hope will be corrected in future editions. The editors of *On Moral Medicine* set out to demonstrate "the possibility and promise of candidly theological reflection" about issues in medical ethics. They have accomplished this task. CARL R. SCHMAHL

The Pitcher, by John Thorn and John Holway (Prentice Hall, 300 pp., $12.95)

THORN AND HOLWAY, two accomplished baseball authors, have pulled off a feat that may be as rare as the pitching of a perfect game (done



about once every ten years) in living up to dust-jacket hype, in this case that *The Pitcher* is "the ultimate compendium of pitching lore." The authors recognize that constant rule changes and the enlivening/deadening of the ball have continually shifted the balance of power between hitting and pitching; still, they maintain that "left unfettered, pitching is an irresistible force and will prevail." (Thus, they disagree with former Pirates pitcher Bob Veale, who said, "Good pitching beats good hitting, and vice versa.") Interested in improving the means of evaluating pitching performance, Thorn and Holway synthesize the work of a host of amateur and professional researchers who have recently devised new statistical pitching measures that are superior to traditional ones. A pitcher's won-lost record, for instance, can be almost meaningless since it is so dependent on factors outside the pitcher's control. Much more revealing is one of the new breed of pitching stats: Pitching Average (PA), the hitters' combined batting average against a pitcher; simply the mirror image of batting average, PA has always been around and, like the atom, has been discovered, not invented. Thorn and Holway put this and other new yardsticks to fascinating use, as they work toward a compilation in the chapter of the one hundred best pitchers of all time, uncovering numerous unsung pitching heroes and great performances, and demonstrating the need for new stats (such as "holds," "squanders," and "half wins") that can more accurately reflect the enormous role now played by relief pitching. While statistics abound, they do not suffocate the book, which also teems with brief bios of great pitchers and great flakes who were pitchers, humorous anecdotes, and the sort of miscellaneous but wonderful information trivia champions are made of. MIKE SHANNON

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LEJEUNE

(Continued from page 36)

employment, though still painfully high, is finally edging down.

Seen from this perspective, the agonizings in Washington appeared, if not inexplicable, certainly deplorable: LAWSON INCREASES PRESSURE FOR U.S. TO REDUCE DEFICIT cried the front page of the London *Times*. And a few days later: NEW PLEA ON U.S. DEFICIT BY THATCHER. When the editor of the *Times* asked his correspondents in America what the reaction had been, he learned that these trumpet-blasts had scarcely been reported on the other side of the Atlantic. Not surprisingly: politicians are always lecturing the governments of other countries to no effect whatsoever. It is, however, an undeniable truth that America's reputation in the world has been damaged by events in Washington and New York. The political stresses within Congress, the Republican Party, and the Reagan Administration, and the gulfs dividing Washington from Wall Street and the East Coast from the rest of America, are not well understood abroad. There is simply a general perception that the American government, incapable of putting its own house in order, has caused economic trouble for everyone else.

ONE FURTHER difference between Mrs. Thatcher's position and President Reagan's is understood. Mrs. Thatcher has four years in hand before there need be another election: President Reagan is nearing the end of his reign. But the President's position is surely not completely without advantage. With nothing more to hope or fear personally, he can say what he likes: and, since his old wizardry with words (something Mrs. Thatcher lacks) has plainly not deserted him, he could speak out, above the heads of the squabbling politicians, with great effect. American affairs are much better reported in Britain than British affairs in America; and such a move by Reagan could be very salutary for America's reputation—as well as for the politicians themselves. And for his own reputation. □

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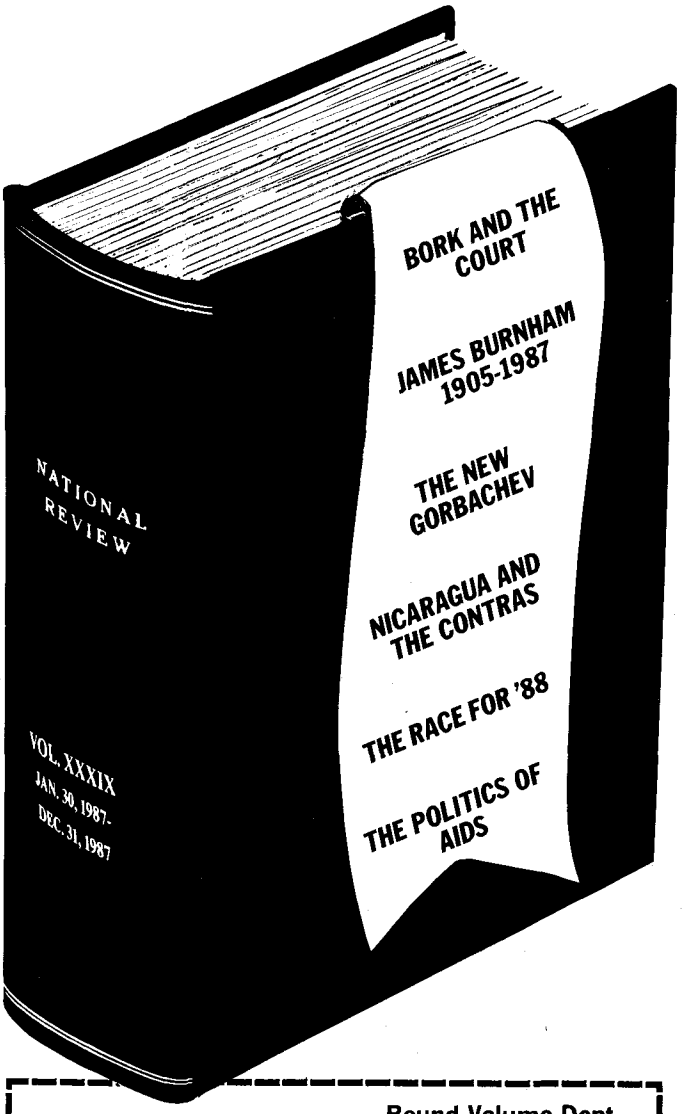

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PAUL GREENBERG:

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Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

MASSACHUSETTS PROFESSIONAL, 39, Roman Catholic gentleman, never married, with interests in sports (golf and tennis), literature, theology, writing, Cape Cod and rural New England, reading (classics, Chesterton, Lewis, *NR*, *l'Osservatore Romano*, etc.). Would very much enjoy introduction to pleasing Christian lady (25–38) of integrity, virtue, wit, and traditional sensibilities for most noble and chivalrous of reasons. NR Box 6016.

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INMATE looking to correspond with anyone who has the time to write. Enjoys the outdoors, sports, romantic times and places, being with someone special; writes poetry. Rick Poley, HCR 70, Box 428, Bucks Harbor, Me. 04618.

PRETTY, BROWN-HAIRED British lady, LDS, mid 30s, seeks adventurous, attractive, Christian man. Lives in Northern California, never married. In love with life, people, and the prospect of meeting her special man and raising a family. Interests include philosophy, sports, music. Send photo and letter to NR Box 6043.

TRIM, ATHLETIC professional man, 41, orthodox Catholic, with children. Likes outdoors, sailing, skiing, concerts, reading. Country house in western New York State. Seeks cheerful, slim, attractive, younger Catholic lady. NR Box 6053.

NEW YORK PROFESSIONAL (M.S.): male, 34, 5'7", good-looking, introspective, politically conservative. Enjoys reading, walking, discussing political issues. Seeks educated, marriage-minded female: non-smoking, non-partying, moral, with traditional values. NR Box 6050.

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SHOOT-OUT IN FLORIDA

NEW YORK, APRIL 13

THE PITCHED battle between physicians and lawyers being fought out in Florida has gone underreported. They are flailing their way to a modus vivendi, but there are holdouts (mostly attorneys) who tell you it's not going to work, many of whom heartily pray that it won't work.

Beginning at the other end, here are data to freeze the blood. In Dade County, Florida, in 1987, the average malpractice-insurance premium an obstetrician needed to pay was $165,000. That was up, in just four years, from $30,000. Between 1975 and 1985, lawsuits against doctors increased by 106 per cent (from 960 to 1,982). Twenty-five per cent of Florida physicians are sued annually. The average amount paid in lawsuits increased eightfold between 1975 and 1985, from $13,000 to $103,000. The average jury award in Dade County in 1986 was $250,000. The Florida Medical Association estimates that at least 25 per cent of Florida's obstetricians have given up delivering babies and practice now only gynecology. By 1987, malpractice costs had added more than $700 to the delivery fee for each baby. And, finally, although 70 per cent of the suits that reach the courts are won by the doctors and result in no award to the plaintiff, it costs a physician an average of $40,000 to defend even a frivolous lawsuit.

Enough, finally, was enough. In the summer of 1987, neurosurgeons in Palm Beach County resigned from hospital staffs, leaving emergency rooms without coverage in a vital, life-and-death specialty. Other specialists, feeling vulnerable, refused to treat trauma patients, for fear of being sued. Entire groups of orthopedic surgeons then resigned from hospitals. Palm Beach County obstetricians by the dozens announced that after January 1, 1988, they would no longer deliver babies.

The negotiations have been feverish. Substantially under the leadership of Dr. Lee Fisher of West Palm Beach, a young, resourceful, and patient family physician of the kind that prefers soft talk to groin-and-eyeball encounters, a Coalition of Attorneys and Physicians was formed. Their recommendations were not incorporated exactly into the new state law, but that law reflects their painstaking thought. Here is what it provides:

—There is a voluntary pre-trial arbitration system. If a patient and doctor agree to arbitration, then a cap of $250,000 is placed on non-economic damages (pain and suffering). If the patient refuses arbitration, non-economic damages are limited to $350,000. But if the doctor refuses arbitration, there is no ceiling on damages.

—No limit is placed on recovery of economic losses (medical costs, lost wages, etc.).

—Newborn babies who suffer brain or spinal-cord injuries at birth are looked after by the state, which uses funds collected from doctors' fees and hospital birth charges.

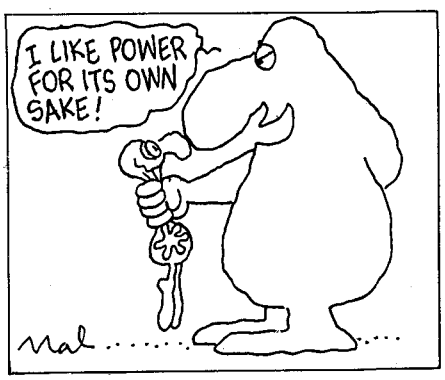
—New standards have been imposed making it more difficult to prove negligence on the part of emergency-room doctors.

—Doctors who are negligent, and lawyers who are undiscriminating, will be regulated more sharply. Lawyers will face disciplinary action if they file three or more malpractice claims without merit during a five-year period. Lawyers' fees will be reduced to 15 per cent of the settlement, except where the patient refuses arbitration, in which case the lawyer will receive 25 per cent. Under the old law, almost one-half of any settlement went to the attorney.

Mr. Robert Montgomery Jr., a famous trial lawyer in Miami, deplores what he sees as an attempt to get around the jury system. Montgomery is a forceful presence outside the courtroom. In it, he is worth his weight in gold, which one assumes is about what he is paid in a case involving, say, someone who becomes a quadriplegic as the result of medical malpractice.

But here one runs into the psychological nub of the question: How much to pay? The human desire is to get money damages, yes, from the offending doctor, but also to punish him. And that is simply not accomplished when the insurance company is there to pay all the bills. Punitive damages, one court held in the lawsuit between Quentin Reynolds and Westbrook Pegler many years ago, must come out of the pocket of the tortfeasor. That court was overruled. The result has been to lessen social satisfaction while increasing money judgments.

Thirteen years ago, California passed tort-reform laws that put a cap of $250,000 on non-economic damages. Medical-malpractice premiums have since been reduced from $53,000 to $16,500 for neurosurgeons; from $36,000 to $15,700 for obstetricians; and from $44,000 to $13,000 for orthopedic surgeons. One more tribute to the federal system. □



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TAMING NORIEGA

NEW YORK, APRIL 6

AS USUAL, somebody in Washington ought to be shot. In this case, the person who advised the press that the United States Government was plotting to kidnap General Noriega from Panama and to try him in the United States. The second edition of this story melodramatized it to the effect that to kidnap Noriega had been the recommendation of the Secretary of State, opposed by the Defense people. Meanwhile the story was rocketing around the world and, in particular in Latin America, inflaming the most combustible fuel in the southern hemisphere, namely anti-Americanism.

Just as most people do not understand the principle of double accounting (I unhappily include myself), most do not understand the theory of "options" as used by the National Security Council and, to a certain extent, the Department of Defense and the CIA. Understanding that theory is important for two reasons. First, the comprehensive nature of the options given would attenuate the concern abroad that the United States automatically thinks in terms of kidnapping obnoxious foreign leaders. Second, the sleight-of-hand games sometimes performed by those who accumulate those options would draw scrutiny.

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Let us take the case of the American hostages seized in 1979 by the Iranians. In such a situation, the President asks his national-security advisors to list optional ways of handling the emergency.

It is not up to the NSC to limit those options by the application of their own moral or strategic criteria. Thus a list of hypothetical options on how to deal with the Ayatollah might have included—let's say at the severe end of the roster of possibilities—dropping a hydrogen bomb on Teheran and—at the other end—offering him a $10-billion bribe in return for releasing the prisoners.

The idea is for the President to run his eyes down the options, thus getting a sense of balance, some idea of where the fulcrum lies. If you see a seesaw, one end of it tilted down and the other end tilted up, you get an idea of where the fulcrum is. And it is generally the fulcrum to which world leaders are attracted.

Henry Kissinger has complained that a trick of those who wish to lead Presidents in a particular direction is to bury a sound alternative among intolerable alternatives, so that—reading down the list—the President will be inclined to slide over a plausible alternative. Suppose that the question is, How can we force Saudi Arabia to extradite Idi Amin for criminal activities? An Arabist in the NSC who wished to soften possible action against King Fahd might list as Option 13 "kidnap the King," as Option 14 "deny the King further military hardware," and as Option 15 "murder the King." Inertia would tend to cause the presidential eye to slide past 13 and 15 so quickly as to give insufficient attention to 14—achieving the objective of the Arab-supporter.

It isn't known whether kidnapping Noriega ever got a moment's hard attention at the White House. If it had been a serious proposal, there is no way in which it could have been more rapidly buried than by giving it the kind of publicity it got. As these words are written, one can absolutely guarantee that presidential candidates will be shouting themselves hoarse over the "ill-conceived," "Grade-B-movie-like" approach to a problem of foreign policy. And Latin America, as mentioned, will harden its opinion against the Colossus of the North that dares contemplate reaching down to foreign capitals to arrest and deport a foreign leader, as if he were a drunken driver in Westchester County.

But the episode throws light on the apparent futility of our policy in Panama. True, deposed President Delvalle predicts that existing pressures will prove, finally, insurmountable to Noriega. But that is so only for so long as the profiteers from Panamanian distress fail to act. What Noriega needs is economic credits. Everyone from the drug-runners of Colombia and Peru to the international troublemakers in Moscow and Havana has a stake, not so much in helping Noriega, as in embarrassing the United States. Although there is against Noriega the nearest thing we have got to an international consensus since Hitler, there is probably lurking in the great mad world some Swedish type who will come forward with a hundred million dollars, giving Noriega another month of life. One likes to think that on that Option List would appear: "Action to be taken against those countries that attempt to dilute the effect of our boycott." □

EVERYTHING GOES, UNDER 'CIVIL RIGHTS'

NEW YORK, APRIL 8

WHEN THE civil-rights bills were passed in the mid Sixties, their principal sponsor, Senator Hubert Humphrey, promised in one melodramatic session that he would "physically eat" the bill he was promoting if ever anyone attempted to use it in order to prefer a member of one race at the expense of a member of another race. Senator Hubert Humphrey died from other causes than the food poisoning to which he'd have been subjected after the Supreme Court okayed Affirmative Action.

A fortnight ago we had the Civil Rights Restoration Act, which now extends to the Federal Government the right to inquire into the racial or sexual composition of a basketball team, if the medical school is receiving federal subsidies. And last week, Georgetown University, the oldest Jesuit college in America, capitulated on the lawsuit demanding that it make room for Gay and Lesbian Student Federations.

One supposes that Georgetown's administrators would at this point interpose that they did not completely lose the fight. True, Georgetown has not been required by the courts to "recognize" the student homosexual groups. But it is required to give the groups facilities. And, it is conceded, the groups will draw their rations from student funds. So far as one can discern, Georgetown's victory is limited to the asterisk it is permitted to use in its catalogue of student activities after "Lesbian Liberation Front"—**not officially recognized by the University*. To such farthings are the defendants today reduced, if the juggernaut running over them is labeled "civil rights." In 1952 the Commission on Financing Higher Education of the Association of American Universities issued a warning against the dangers of accepting federal funds. "Under federal control, our hundreds of universities and colleges would follow the order of one central institution, and the freedom of higher education would be lost." Among the signers of that document were the presidents of Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Stanford, and Brown. Those learned gentlemen would take from the situation today whatever satisfaction is desired by prophets of doom. But even so, it is hard to imagine that they'd have foreseen a day in which a federal court instructs a religious institution that it is required to countenance, let alone provide quarters for, groups engaged in promoting activity it deems not only misguided but sinful.

Those who stress (and restress) the separation of church and state are certainly narrowing the area within which the freedom of religious exercise is tolerated. Perhaps in the storm cellar. Here is a scenario: A son sues his father for denying him facilities in the home in which to practice homosexuality with a neighbor's son. The ACLU defends the son's freedom on the grounds that the father's house is a beneficiary of a federally backed mortgage, and therefore the civil rights of all its occupants need to be observed. Lunatic reasoning? Who, ten years ago, would not have thought it lunatic reasoning that a religious institution dedicated to teaching among other things the moral law should be obliged to extend its hospitality to those who seek to flout such laws?

I OBSERVED with fascination, only a week or so ago, the plausibility with which Senator George McGovern, as ever on the cutting edge of liberal reasoning, defended the recent civil-rights extension. It sounds so reasonable to say that "the taxpayers" do not wish their money to be spent on "any institution" that permits the practice of discrimination. Discrimination based on race, ethnic background, sex, and now sexual inclination.

One wonders—I brought this question unsuccessfully to the attention of Mr. McGovern—what has happened to the concept of privacy? Just as the idea of civil rights has expanded, one would have expected that the concept of private rights would expand, in an age when the clearest threat is that posed by omnipotent government. But the only private right anybody ever got exercised about in recent times is the right to use birth-control devices. Private clubs are gradually disappearing, under the sanction of civil rights. If I were in Congress, I would be tempted—I said to Senator McGovern—even if only on April Fools' Day, to introduce a "Civil Rights Bill for Preemptive War against the Soviet Union." My only purpose would be to permit me in the campaign ahead to point to all those Democrats who voted against the "Civil Rights Bill of 1988," and thereby stifle one hundred political careers.

Someone, somewhere, somehow, has got to stop the civil-rights thing. It is making a joke out of one after another of our Bill of Rights. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Jackson's politics won't be found in the tributary
45 146 101 98 24 21 5 156 16 124

B. Job
123 160 154 108 18 6 191 142 9 135

C. One kind of magazine
152 137 102 43 23 54

D. Seamstress's
179 12 2 51 65 89 128

E. Best the sly one
15 10 61 121 34 129

F. Topical TV show
167 139 30 55 155 19 174 68 38

G. This can be a dangerous thing
37 147 95 57 173 134 188 120 29

H. Purpose
168 3 158 109 136 93

I. Western state
53 88 141 113 69 25

J. Type of vowel sound
76 165 183 49 46 138 180 119 11

K. Dress feature
157 115 35 175 96 75

L. Bring charges
52 149 104 171 36 143

M. Topical TV show
42 31 56 127 145 85 187 184 58

N. How the rope-tying competition ended?
161 73 47 169 60 84 178

O. Eleventh-century English king
33 40 22 182 7 132 189 116

P. One kind of stew
176 122 133 162 125

Q. Agra site (2 words)
13 66 114 26 111 71 151 1

R. Outlaw's collar
59 78 97 44 185

S. Sixth sense?
27 92 39

T. Salad ingredient
50 190 28 126 110 131

U. One kind of confession
87 32 159 74 150 181 4 148

V. Russians are like this
166 100 153 83 41 90

W. Shoal
140 105 72 77 81 163 144

X. Ghana's capital
67 63 70 112 172

Y. River in northwestern Mexico
20 91 170 64 118

Z. Castings
86 79 99 62 14 186

a. Big bird's savings (2 words)
164 103 8 48 106 117 107

b. Let's win one for him in November
80 82 17 130 177 94

1 Q L	2 D	3 H	4 U	5 A	6 B	7 O	8 a		9 B	10 E	11 J	12 D	13 Q T		14 Z	15 E		16 A	17 b	18 B	19 F	20 Y	
21 A	22 O H	23 C		24 A	25 I	26 Q M	27 S E		28 T	29 G	30 F	31 M	32 U	33 O		34 E	35 K		36 L S	37 G	38 F	39 S P	40 O	
41 V	42 M	43 C	44 R	45 A		46 J	47 N		48 a T	49 J	50 T		51 D	52 L	53 J N		54 C	55 F H	56 M		57 G	58 M	59 R
60 N		61 E	62 Z		63 X C	64 Y	65 D	66 Q A		67 X A	68 F	69 I		70 X C	71 Q H	72 W	73 N	74 U	75 K	76 J		77 W L	78 R
79 Z	80 b		81 W	82 b	83 V	84 N		85 M	86 Z	87 U	88 I	89 D		90 V	91 Y	92 S S	93 H	94 b	95 G		96 K	97 R	98 A
99 Z		100V	101A	102C	103a		104L	105W H	106a		107a	108B	109H	110T V	111Q A	112X R	113I		114Q J	115K	116O	117a	118Y
119J	120G		121E F	122P	123B	124A		125P	126T	127M		128D E	129E X	130b	131T	132O	133P I	134G	135B	136H	137C		138J H
139F	140W S		141I	142B	143L	144W	145M		146A A	147G	148U		149L C	150U	151Q A	152C	153V	154B	155F T	156A	157K R		158H J
159U	160B	161N	162P S	163W O	164a N		165J	166V S		167F	168H O	169N T		170Y	171L U	172X A	173G L	174F I	175K F	176P	177b F	178N L	
179D T	180J O		181U	182O E		183J L	184M	185R E	186Z S	187M I	188G L	189O E	190T N	191B T									

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 66 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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